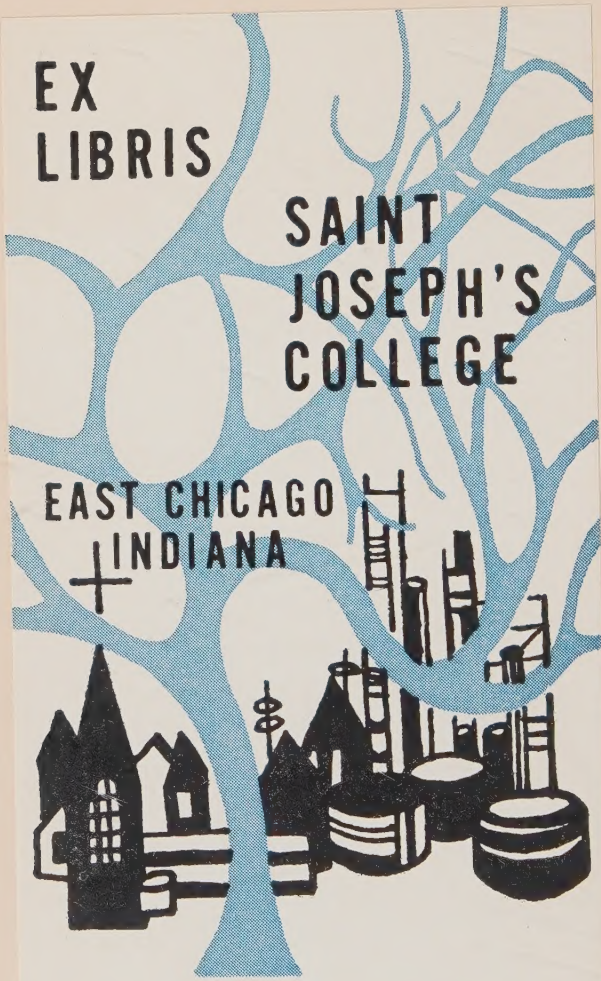

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THE MYSTIC ROSE

THE MYSTIC ROSE

A STUDY OF PRIMITIVE MARRIAGE AND OF PRIMITIVE THOUGHT IN ITS BEARING ON MARRIAGE

BY

ERNEST CRAWLEY

A NEW EDITION
REVISED AND GREATLY ENLARGED BY
THEODORE BESTERMAN

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II

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CONTENTS

VOLUME II

CHAPTER XIII

CONFIRMATION AND ENGAGEMENT

SECTION 1. Puberty and initiation, 1-2—The dangers of puberty, 2-4—Taboos against the opposite sex, 4-6—Change of identity, 7-9—Initiation, 9-10—The gift of strength, 10-11—Food-taboos and fasting, 11-13—Tutelar deities or guardian spirits, 13-15—The use of the bullroarer, 15-17—Moral and physical preparation for marriage, 17-19—Inoculation and introduction to the other sex, 19-22—Sympathetic practices, 23-24—Connection of initiation and marriage, 24-25.

SECTION 2. Taboos between betrothed persons, 25-27—Betrothal by proxy, 28.

CHAPTER XIV

MARRIAGE AND ITS CEREMONIES

The meaning and origin of marriage ceremonies, 29-32—Marriage not a tribal or communistic act but an individualistic one, 32-33—Neutralisation of danger, 34-38—Purification, 39—Ordeals, 40—Exposure to the sun, 40-41—Weddings at night, 41—Customs of hiding and seclusion, 41-44—The bridal veil, 42-45—Protecting the head, 45—Seclusion of the bride and groom, and from each other, 45-48—Sympathy between those of the same sex, 48-49—Disguise and change of identity, 49-51—The False Bride, 51-52—Doubles, 52—Groomsmen and bridesmaids, 53-54—Marriage by proxy, 54-55—Marriage to trees and the like, 55-58—Various

forms of abstinence, 58-61—Deferring of consummation, 61-66—Ceremonial defloration, 66-76—The carrying of bride and bridegroom, 77-78—Sexual antagonism, 78-80—Sexual resistance and complementary violence the basis of connubial and formal capture, 80-89—The flight and return, 89-93—Destruction of property, 93-95—Criticism of the theory of marriage by capture, 95-100—Assimilation, 100-101—The exchange and inversion of clothing, 101-117—Mutual inoculation and union, 117-118—Joining hands and the like, 118-120—Eating and drinking together, 121-136—Bridal gifts, 136-142—Criticism of marriage by purchase, 138-142.

SECONDARY TABOO, CHAPTERS XV-XVII

CHAPTER XV

HUSBAND, WIFE AND MOTHER-IN-LAW

Marriage as a state of *ngia ngiampe*, 143-152—Analysis of its duties and their sanctions, 144-152—The custom of avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law, 152-159—Criticism of theories, 159-162—Analysis of avoidances between persons related by marriage, 163-168—Meaning and origin of the mother-in-law avoidance, 168-174.

CHAPTER XVI

PARENTS AND CHILD

Sexual taboo at child-birth, 175-176—Saturnalia, 176—Twins, 176—The couvade, 177-188—True and false couvade, 177-180—Criticism of theories, 180-182—Meaning and origin of the custom, 183-188—Connected customs, 184-188—Teknonymy, 188-190—Criticism of theories, 190-191—Meaning and origin of the custom, 191-193—Renewal of marriage, 193-194—Customs allied to teknonymy, 194-197—The giving of the name, 197-198—Taboos between father and mother and child, 198-200—Godparents, 200-201—Other people's children, 201-202.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MARRIAGE SYSTEM

The marriage system, 203-204—Exogamy, 204-205—The marriage of near kin, 205-208—Criticism of theories, 205-208—Prohibition of incest the origin of exogamy, 208-212—Historical reconstruction of the origin of exogamy, 212-220—Terms of relationship, 220-221—Relationships, 221-230—The Matriarchal theory, 230-232—Temporary residence with the wife's family, 232-239—The bride-price, 237-239—Classificatory systems, 239-250—Criticism of the theory of group-marriage, 250-258—Individual marriage, 259—Summary, 259-260—Deities of marriage, 260-261.

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . *Pages* 263-304

INDEX . . . . . „ 305-340

CHAPTER XIII

CONFIRMATION AND ENGAGEMENT

Section 1

At the beginning of the chain of culture appear one or two simple precautionary and educational measures applied to boys and girls on reaching the age of puberty ; at our end of the chain are confirmation and a more or less lengthy period of education. In both of these, and in all intermediate stages and developments, the chief ideas behind the ceremonies of so-called initiation are concerned with the going-out of childhood and the entering-upon the state of manhood and womanhood.[1] The putting away of the old life of childhood and sexlessness, and the taking-up of the responsibilities, social and sexual, of the new, and also the education imparted, were often dramatised amongst early peoples by sympathetic processes. As noticed before,[2] this kind of rehearsal was meant to ensure the proper performance of the duties represented in the mystery-play. We also find useful instruction given as to the duties of manhood and of womanhood, the sexual relation and marriage ; girls are entrusted with such feminine lore as the women possess, while the boys

[1] [The discovery of M. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), pp. 93 *et seq.*, that the ceremonies of initiation do not always synchronise with the actual time of physiological puberty, was anticipated by Mr Crawley, "Achilles at Skyros," *The Classical Review* (1893), vii. 243.]

[2] [Above, i. 323 *et seq.*]

are entrusted with the tribal history and secrets by the old men, the repositories of power, and the real and responsible guardians of the State. The excellence not only of the military and political, but also of the moral instruction given at initiation has often been remarked.[1] [In short, as Dr Malinowski has well put it, though perhaps a little exaggerating this aspect of the initiation ceremonies, these are "a ritual and dramatic expression of the supreme power and value of tradition in primitive societies ; they also serve to impress this power and value upon the minds of each generation, and they are at the same time an extremely efficient means of transmitting tribal lore, of ensuring continuity of tradition and of maintaining tribal cohesion."][2]

Leaving this aspect of primitive confirmation, we proceed to examine the dangers spiritual and material, of the old life, which are cast aside, and of the new life, which are to be faced, to both of which the ceremonies at puberty have reference.

To take the case of girls first, there is nothing in the old life that is likely to be dangerous to her, for she will still find her best comfort and companionship with her mother and female friends, but she has to meet the dangers of the other sex, now that she is marriageable. These dangers we have already reviewed ;[3] there is the natural timidity, and subconscious fear of the male sex, deriving from the natural passivity and functional nervous characteristics of woman, and expressed in that coyness and shrinking which are so potent a sexual charm ; often,

[1] [*E.g*, E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1912-1917), ii. 671.]

[2] B. Malinowski, "Magic, Science and Religion," in *Science, Religion and Reality* (1925), p. 40.

[3] [*E.g.*, above, i. 229.]

however, especially at marriage, and sometimes at childbirth, the latent fear comes out as direct fear of the male sex. We have seen[1] how menstruation is regarded as the result of a supernatural act of violence or rupture of the *hymen*, and here too there is a functional timidity to be reckoned with, as also in the same act at marriage. All these functional ideas focus, as a rule subconsciously, into fear of the other sex, and consciously into vague fear of "spiritual" danger, all originally deriving from the psychological and physical change of the organism at puberty. On the other side, in the male view of female confirmation, there is the usual fear of a taboo state, emphasised here by the fact that it is *the* characteristic female condition, connoting loss of strength and transmitting weakness. In regard to male confirmation, the chief feature is that the old life with the woman is given up, but the irony of nature insists that though the man may cast aside his life with women, he must soon return to it, in a more dangerous form. As for the casting away of the life of the nursery, the Damaras reckon a man's age from his circumcision, not counting the previous years at all.[2] Amongst the Kurnai a part of the initiation is the following ceremony: the mothers stand in a line facing their sons, and each mother and son sprinkle each other with water; this signifies that the boys are no longer under their mother's control.[3] [A similar observation was made at a *Bora* held in the county of Finch in New South Wales; this *Bora* is described as "a great educational institution for the admission of the youths of the tribes to the privileges, duties and obligations of

[1] [Above, i. 231-232.]

[2] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1879), i. 44.

[3] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), pp. 197-198.

manhood."[1] At one point in the ceremonies, "The mothers of those to be initiated, or their female relatives discharging the parental duty, stood in the front row of the women during this dance, and at its conclusion they commanded the novices to enter the circle, thus relinquishing their authority over them."][2]

The dangers of the taboo state, that is, the disabilities of the old life and the responsibilities of the new, are neutralised by various means. Tests of endurance are gone through, fasting and purification; candidates are beaten, sometimes to increase their strength, at others to get rid of the dangerous substance of taboo; they are fumigated and purified, secluded and concealed.[3]

More precisely, each sex is tabooed to the other, for it is against the dangers of sexual contact that the process is directed. So the maiden at puberty must not see males, or be seen by them, nor have any association with them whatever; first, for her safety, because it is the male sex in the abstract which causes her trouble and danger, and because contagion from them is dangerous; secondly, for the safety of men, who by contagion of her accentuated feminity would be injured. In the same way, boys at puberty may not see nor have any association with females; first, for their own safety, because it is the female sex in the abstract which produces these dangers, and because contact with them is dangerous, causing weakness and effeminacy; and secondly, we may infer that the girls are to be considered, and that when

[1] R. H. Mathews, "Aboriginal Bora held at Gundabloui in 1894," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* (1894), xxviii. 99.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxviii. 117.

[3] [See for instance Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), i. 36 *et seq.*]

men are attaining their manhood some fear of manly contagion is present to the female mind, as it is at marriage.[1]

At initiation Australian boys may not see women.[2] Boys of the Irwin River and Murchison River tribes are separated from the women for several weeks after circumcision. A boy was once killed for being found in a woman's company during this time.[3] The Kurnai hold that sickness mutually results if women touch boys who are being initiated.[4] [The natives of the Murring tribes of New South Wales forbid a probationer to look at or speak to a woman].[5] Girls of New Britain, while in the cages where they are imprisoned from puberty to marriage, may not be seen by men;[6] so with those of New Ireland.[7] In both New Britain[8] and New Ireland[9] boys at initiation may not be seen by women. The New Hebridean boy at puberty, when he is circumcised and receives a new name, may not see the face of woman.[10] At the ceremony of excision of South Celebes girls, no man may be present.[11] Ceramese boys at puberty may

[1] [The customs associated with puberty and initiation are reviewed by G. S. Hall, *Adolescence* (1904), ii. 232 *et seq.*]

[2] L. Crauford, "Victoria River Downs Station, Northern Territory, South Australia," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 181; W. H. Willshire, "On the Manners, Customs, Religion, Superstitions, etc., of the Natives of Central Australia," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 183; E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (1845), ii. 133.

[3] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 369.

[4] A. W. Howitt, "The Jeraeil, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai Tribe," *J.A.I.* (1885), xiv. 306.

[5] *Id.*, "Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *J.A.I.* (1884), xiii. 455-456.

[6] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 284.

[7] *Ibid.*, xviii. 287. [8] *Ibid.*, xviii. 284. [9] *Ibid.*, xviii. 287.

[10] B. T. Somerville, "Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 4.

[11] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), p. 71.

not be seen by women.[1] When a Cambodian girl enters "the shade," the rules she has to observe are, not to let herself be seen by a strange man; not to look at men, even furtively; not to bathe till night, lest any one should see her, nor alone, but accompanied by her sister.[2] Kaffir girls at puberty are placed in a separate hut, and none but females are allowed to see them.[3] [On this occasion a Metlakahtlan girl is secluded in her cabin for a month.[4] The Tinneh girls were very rigidly secluded on reaching puberty, for as soon "as signs of that condition made themselves apparent in a young girl she was carefully segregated from all but female company, and had to live by herself in a small hut away from the gaze of the villagers or of the male members of the roving band. While in that awful state, she had to abstain from touching anything belonging to man, or the spoils of any venison or other animal, lest she would thereby pollute the same, and condemn the hunters to failure, owing to the anger of the game thus slighted. Dried fish formed her diet, and cold water, absorbed through a drinking tube, was her only beverage. Moreover, as the very sight of her was dangerous to society, a special skin bonnet, with fringes falling down to her breast, hid her from the public gaze, even some time after she had recovered her normal state."[5] During her initiation ceremony a girl among the Luiseño Indians of South California may be seen only by her mother and by the

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p 130.

[2] É. Aymonier, "Note sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambodgiens," *Cochinchine française* (1883), vi. 193.

[3] J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), p. 101.

[4] G. H. S. Wellcome, *The Story of Metlakahtla* (1887), p. 7.

[5] A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archæologica. Report* [*Ontario*], *1905* (1906), p. 218.

chief's wife.][1] Special developments of these cases have been already noticed.[2] such as the prohibition to look upon the sun or fire.

The boy's renunciation of the old life of the nursery, woman's life, may be illustrated by the following case. Boys among the Central Australians are called "children," as are girls, until the initiation, which begins between the ages of ten and twelve.[3] Frequently initiation is put earlier, and very often, as has been observed, the boy begins to go about with his father before the ceremony takes place. As a matter of convenience a boy has often to wait, but there is always to be borne in mind the distinction between the beginning of boyhood and of manhood. A Zuñi boy is initiated any time after he is four years old. Previously he has been called "baby," now he receives a name. He has a "godfather," who breathes upon a wand, which he then extends to the child's mouth. The initiation is "mainly done by the sponsors, and the boy must personally take the vows as soon as he is old enough."[4] Here we have a prototype of our baptism, and the distinction is made, as it often is where circumcision, for instance, takes place at five, six or seven years of age, between reception into the ranks of boys and of men. After initiation there is the almost universal rule that boys sleep and mess and live together, most often outside of the family dwelling. This we have already described.[5]

[1] C. G. Dubois, "The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California," *University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology* (1908-1910), viii. 94.

[2] [Above, i. 236.]

[3] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 215.

[4] T. E. Stevenson, "The Religious Life of the Zuñi Child," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1887 for 1883-1884), v. 553.

[5] [Above, i. 264-265.]

The change of life is marked and assisted by various methods of altering identity, and it is important to notice that personal identity undergoes a very real transformation, physiological and psychical, at puberty. Wanika boys are smeared all over with white earth, so that they cannot be recognised. At the end of the initiation they wash.[1] The name being a universal mark of identity, and often conceived of, on the principles we have described,[2] as part of the organism, is thus changed at puberty. [Thus, the Murring of New South Wales have two totem names, one being hereditary and the other received at initiation.[3] In the Narrinyeri,[4] Dieri[5] and Port Lincoln[6] tribes boys receive a new name at initiation, and the same applies to Australia generally].[7] The same is true of Nias[8] and the New Hebrides.[9] In the Andamans these names for girls are beautifully called "flower names."[10] The Iroquois receive a new name at puberty.[11] [After being initiated the Guaymis of Panama take a new name, which is kept secret.][12]

[1] J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa* (1860), p. 147.

[2] [Above, i. 150; *cp.* i. 320 *et seq.*]

[3] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904), pp. 133, 147.

[4] G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879).

[5] S. Gason, "The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines," in *ibid.*, p. 268.

[6] C. W. Schürmann, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia," in *ibid.*, p. 224.

[7] C. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (1850), p. 115; R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878), i. 75; A. L. P. Cameron "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *J.A.I.* (1885), xiv. 357, 359.

[8] C. B. H. von Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel* (1878), p. 154.

[9] B. T. Somerville, "Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 5.

[10] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1885), xii. 128.

[11] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (1877), p. 79.

[12] A. Pinart, "Les Indiens de l'État de Panama," *Revue d'Ethnographie* (1887), vi. 43-44.

Again, there is here practised the common custom of sacrificing a part of the body, by way of ensuring the security of the rest and of assisting, by casting it away, the renunciation of the "old man." [Thus, to take only one form of mutilation, the knocking out of one tooth or more is a very common practice in Australia.[1] If the tooth is not easily dislodged they say that the boy has been too much with the women and girls.[2] Teeth-filing is the Malayan [3] and East Indian [4] parallel of this practice. In Africa similar customs are found, as amongst the Wagogo,[5] the Nandi,[6] and the Bageshu.[7] The Ovaherero and Batoka of South Africa knock two middle incisors of the lower jaw,[8] while the Mussurongo and the Ambriz prefer two teeth from the middle front of the upper jaw.[9]

As the initiation of boys removes them from the effeminate and weakening sphere of woman's life, so it also provides for a renewal of strength. The great ceremony of *Engwura* is supposed by the Central Australians to have the effect of strengthening all who

[1] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (1881), pp. 28 *et seq.*; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904), pp. 538 *et seq.*; A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (1901), pp. 193-194.

[2] A. W. Howitt, "Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *J.A.I.* (1884), xiii. 448.

[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 359.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), pp. 228, 437.

[5] H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *J.A.I.* (1902), xxxii. 309.

[6] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (1908), p. 94.

[7] J. Roscoe, "Notes on the Bageshu," *J.A.I.* (1909), xxxix. 185-187.

[8] G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* (1872), p. 235.

[9] J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo* (1875), i. 262. As to this practice in general, see H. von Iherung, "Die künstliche Deformirung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1882), xiv. 213-262; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iv. 180 *et seq.*

pass through it. Shortly after the beginning of the performances, which sometimes last from September to January, the men are separated from the women until the end.[1] The boys are told during initiation that the ceremony will promote their growth to manhood, and they are also told by tribal fathers and elder brothers that in future they must not play with the women and girls, nor must they camp with them as hitherto. They have up to now gone out with the women hunting for food, now they begin to accompany the men.[2] [In the Northern New Hebrides, "For a woman to see the newly initiated until they have returned to ordinary life is a mortal offence."][3]

We have seen[4] how a man's strength can be transmitted to another by contact. This is the object of the following customs. The first ceremony of the initiation of boys in the Adelaide tribes is the covering of them with blood drawn from a man's arm.[5] So in many other tribes of Australia, as the Dieri [the practice among whom is thus described, as taking place after circumcision during the initiatory ceremonies: "A young man, without previous warning, is taken out of the camp by the old men, whereon the women set up crying, and so continue for almost half the night. On the succeeding morning at sunrise, the men (young and old), excepting his father and elder brothers, surround him, directing him to close his eyes. One of the old men then binds another old man round his arm, near the shoulder, with string, pretty

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 271-274.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 216. [3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (1891), p. 87.

[4] [Above, i. 134-137.]

[5] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (1845), ii. 333.

tightly, and with a sharp piece of flint lances the main artery of the arm, about an inch above the elbow, causing an instant flow of blood, which is permitted to play on the young man until his whole frame is covered with blood. As soon as the old man becomes exhausted from loss of blood, another is operated on, and so on two or three others in succession, until the young man becomes quite stiff and sore from the great quantity of blood adhering to his person."][1] On the same principle the young Masai for some time after initiation, eats nothing but beef and drinks nothing but blood and milk. The initiate become the warriors;[2] and the whole system is very like the training of young knights in medieval Europe.

"Man's meat" and the food of adults is naturally tabooed till maturity is reached. Andamanese boys and girls have a long list of foods they may not eat until initiated. The taboo on each food is taken off ceremonially. For instance, the pig taboo is taken off by pressing a pig on to the boy's body "in token of his becoming strong and brave." The honey taboo with girls is not removed till after the birth of the first child. The turtle taboo is thus removed: the chief boils turtle fat, and when cool pours it over the boy's head and body, and rubs it into him. He is then fed with turtle and nothing else for three days.[3]

The common rule of fasting at puberty is to prevent

[1] S. Gason, "The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines," in *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879), p. 270. Cp. A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *J.A.I.* (1891), xx. 82; *id.*, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904), pp. 658-659; R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878), ii. 296.

[2] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 187.

[3] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* 1883), xii. 130, 134.

dangerous influences entering the system with food. It also prepares for the reception of the new food. A frequent concomitant of fasting is the taboo against eating with other persons. Thus, during the initiation of Kaffir boys no one is allowed to eat with them.[1] [Such prohibitions are very common in Australia,[2] but it was among the Indians of America that they were most highly developed. Thus, among the Algonkins, at the initiation ceremonies the boy was obliged to fast for eight days ;[3] among the Sioux the period was three days ;[4] and similar customs prevailed amongst many other North American tribes.][5]

Again, the ideas of sexual taboo regulate the diet ; the most common prohibition is, of course, against eating with the other sex for fear of contagion. The idea is extended thus. Women and children of the Powell's Creek tribe may not eat bandicoot, snake or iguana,[6] the reason for the two former being doubtless that they are connected with the origin of menstruation. For boys, women's food, either what they have touched, or simply the species used for women's diet, is often tabooed, for feminine weakness would be transmitted by eating them. None but women and boys not grown up are allowed by the Dyaks to eat venison, the deer being a timid animal.[7] Amongst the Central Australians a boy not circumcised

[1] J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), p. 98.

[2] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (1845), ii. 293-294 ; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iv. 176 *et seq.*, 217 *et seq.*

[3] P. F. X. de Charleroix, *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France* (1744), vi. 67.

[4] J. E. Fletcher, "Manners and Customs of the Winnebagoes," *in* H. R. Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the . . . Indian Tribes* (1851-1860), iii. 286.

[5] Cp. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iii. 373 *et seq.*

[6] S. Gason, "The Tribes, Dieyerie, Auminie, Yandrawontha Yarawuarka, Piladopa," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 179.

[7] H. Low, *Sarawak* (1848), p. 266.

may not eat large lizards, nor may women ever do so, else they will have an abnormal craving for sexual intercourse.[1] In New South Wales a boy at initiation may not eat the emu, this being "the woman;" he may not even look at a woman; and for some time he must cover his mouth with his rug when a woman is near. The forbidden food is finally allowed to him, by giving him some to eat, or by rubbing him with its fat.[2] This introduction to the forbidden food is a regular part of the ceremonies which end initiation; and it is to be observed how youths are inoculated against the dangers even of eating with women and of eating women's food.

Another method of emphasising the newness of life is that the boy receives an external soul in various forms, a tutelar divinity, or guardian spirit; this is perhaps connected with the idea that the soul may escape in the act of union with women, as it is undoubtedly based on a psychological characteristic of puberty, that desire for the new and the strange, that romantic aspiration after ideals and guiding-stars, which is part of the blossoming of love, and which has such an important connection with religion. It is here, indeed, that the psychological dependence of the religious faculty on the sexual first appears. [Thus, to take only one typical example from America,[3] the beliefs and practices connected with the guardian spirit, have been excellently described in the following words by the historian Francis Parkman: "Besides ascribing life and intelligence to the material world, animate and inanimate, the Indian believes in

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 471, 473.

[2] A. W. Howitt, "Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *J.A.I.* (1884), xiii. 455.

[3] Guardian spirits in America have been exhaustively discussed by Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iii. 370-456.

supernatural existences, known among the Algonquins as *Manitous* and among the Iroquois and Hurons as *Okies* or *Otkons*. These words comprehend all forms of supernatural being, from the highest to the lowest, with the exception, possibly, of certain diminutive fairies or hobgoblins, and certain giants and anomalous monsters, which appear under various forms, grotesque and horrible, in the Indian fireside legends. There are local manitous of streams, rocks, mountains, cataracts, and forests. The conception of these beings betrays, for the most part, a striking poverty of imagination. In nearly every case, when they reveal themselves to mortal sight, they bear the semblance of beasts, reptiles, or birds, in shapes unusual or distorted. There are other manitous without local habitation, some good, some evil, countless in number and indefinite in attributes. They fill the world, and control the destinies of men, that is to say, of Indians: for the primitive Indian holds that the white man lives under a spiritual rule distinct from that which governs his own fate. These beings, also, appear for the most part in the shape of animals. Sometimes, however, they assume human proportions; but more frequently they take the form of stones, which, being broken, are found full of living blood and flesh.

"Each primitive Indian has his guardian manitou, to whom he looks for council, guidance and protection. These spiritual allies are gained by the following process. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, the Indian boy blackens his face, retires to some solitary place, and remains for days without food. Superstitious expectancy and the exhaustion of abstinence rarely fail of their results. His sleep is haunted by visions, and the form which first or most often appears is that of his guardian manitou—a beast, a bird, a fish, a serpent, or some other object, animate or

inanimate. An eagle or a bear is the vision of a destined warrior ; a wolf, of a successful hunter ; while a serpent foreshadows the future medicine-man, or, according to others, portends disaster. The young Indian thenceforth wears about his person the object revealed in his dream, or some portion of it—as a bone, a feather, a snake-skin, or a tuft of hair. This, in the modern language of the forest and prairie, is known as his "medicine." The Indian yields to it a sort of worship, propitiates it with offerings of tobacco, thanks it in prosperity, and upbraids it in disaster. If his medicine fails to bring the desired success, he will sometimes discard it and adopt another. The superstition now becomes mere fetish-worship, since the Indian regards the mysterious object which he carries about with him rather as an embodiment than as a representative of a supernatural power."][1]

In many of such cases of guardian spirits, as Sir James Frazer has pointed out,[2] there is found the idea that the boy receives into himself the divine person. But this is a form of new life, and it thus correlates with the idea of obtaining new life and strength by new food and similar methods. Thus, in the Arunta tribe, while circumcision is being performed, bullroarers are continuously sounded, so as to be easily heard by the women and children. By them it is supposed that the roaring is the voice of the great spirit *Twanyirika*, who has come to take the boy away. This spirit only appears when a boy is initiated. He enters his body after the operation, and leaves him after his seclusion. This belief is found in most Australian tribes.[3] The Arunta explanation of impregnation is that

[1] F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1885), pp. lxix-lxxi.

[2] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1911-1915), xi. 218 *et seq.*

[3] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 246.

an ancestor is re-incarnated in the form of a "spirit child," who enters a woman; when this takes place a *churinga* (a sacred object identical with the bullroarer used at initiation by most Australians) is found at the place. Each *churinga*—the tribe possesses a collection—is identified with an ancestor. Messrs Spencer and Gillen infer that they are a modification of the common idea of the external soul, by which the man's life is secured by being hidden away in a material object. The Kurnai identify the bullroarer used at initiation with a great ancestor, *Turndun*. When the old men reveal these objects to the boys, they say "we will show you your grandfather."[1] Considerable mystery is attached by the Arunta to their sacred objects, *churinga*, "a mystery," say Messrs Spencer and Gillen, "which has probably had a large part of its origin in the desire of the men to impress the women of the tribe with an idea of the supremacy and superior power of the male sex." "The *churinga* is supposed to endow the possessor with courage and accuracy of aim, and also to deprive his opponent of these qualities. So firm is their belief in this that if two men were fighting and one of them knew that the other carried a *churinga* while he did not, he would certainly lose heart at once and without doubt be beaten."[2] Now amongst the Australians of the Arunta and neighbouring tribes, and the Yaroinga tribe, a man can charm a woman to love him, and a woman can do the same to a man, by making a noise with a bullroarer. The humming seems to be a sort of spiritual invitation; the belief, at least, is that the man or woman thus charmed, immediately comes to the person using the charm. This is actually a marriage

[1] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 198.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 130.

ceremony.[1] We may suppose, then, that the use of the bullroarer at initiation is concerned with this new life in its sexual aspect, and that sexual strength for procreation is imparted by the ancestral spirits. The suggestion is corroborated by the Dieri custom and belief. A bullroarer is given to each boy at puberty. If a woman were to see it, the people would have no snakes or lizards. The boy on receiving it "becomes inspired by *Murauma*, who makes the noise, and it causes a supply of snakes."[2] The connection of the serpent and the male organ seems thus to explain the well-known initiation custom of the use of the bullroarer.

Initiation makes men and women, and prepares boys and girls for the responsibilities of contact with the other sex. The two quotations which follow illustrate this. In South Australia a stupid old man whom the natives have not deemed worthy of "receiving the honours of their ceremonies" was still called a boy.[3] In Australia universal law forbids a man to marry until after the ceremonies are performed by which the status of young men is reached.[4] Instruction in future duties is often imparted; ["amid the many puerilities accompanying the course of instruction in these tribal seminaries, we certainly find much that is of practical value to the novice, much that is truly moral, much that evinces a conscientious purpose to fit them for the serious duties of life."[5] Thus,

[1] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), pp. 541-542, 545; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (1897), p. 162.

[2] A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *J.A.I.* (1891), xx. 83.

[3] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (1845), ii. 201.

[4] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 106.

[5] H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (1908), p. 48.

to take a typical example from a tribe of low development, in New South Wales, an observer writes: "Each lad is attended by one of the elders, who instructs him every evening in his duties, and gives him advice to regulate his conduct through life—advice given in so kindly, fatherly, and impressive a manner as often to soften the heart and draw tears from the youth. He is told to conduct himself discreetly towards women, to restrict himself to the class which his name confines him to, and not to look after another's gin; that if he does take another gin when young who belongs to another, he is to give her up without any fighting; not to take advantage of a gin if he finds her alone; that he is to be silent, and not given to quarrelling. The secrets of the tribe are imparted to him at this time. These instructions are repeated every evening while the *Bora* ceremony lasts, and form the principal part of it. He is led to consider himself responsible for good conduct to the tribe, its ancient traditions, and its elders."][1]

But there are other methods of preparing each sex for their mutual relations. The artificial rupture of the *hymen* sometimes takes place in infancy, but generally at puberty, as among Australian tribes.[2] The reason for this we have already given;[3] the idea of a possible impediment is associated by the savage with certain physical peculiarities, such as the *hymen*. By removing this, both physical difficulties are removed, and the spiritual dangers that arise from the contemplation of the physical fact are obviated. Fears of female contamination and of the performance for the first time of dangerous acts are also thus

[1] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1884), xiii. 296.

[2] S. Gason, "The Tribes, Dieyerie, Auminie, Yandrawontha, Yarawuarka, Pilladopa," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 168-169.

[3] [Above, i. 168-172, 229-230.]

removed, and the material property of taboo which emanates from such is taken off by handselling. It is often combined, as in Australia,[1] with a ceremonial act of intercourse which has the same object of preparing the woman for married life by removing imaginary dangers.

Other peoples satisfy these fears by a "rehearsal" of the act, for the safety both of the male and of the female. At the puberty ceremonies performed on girls in Ceram no man may enter the house. One of the old women takes a leaf, and ceremonially perforates it with her finger, as a symbol of the perforation of the *hymen*. After the ceremony the girl has free liberty of intercourse with men; in some villages old men have access to her the same evening.[2] Amongst the Galelas and Tobelorese of Halmahera, boys are initiated at puberty during the course of certain festivals. A number are brought into a large shed, in which are two tables, one for the men and one for the women, for they must be separated while eating. An old man solemnly rubs a piece of wood, which makes water red, into a vessel of water, imitating while doing this the act of coition. This is done for each boy, whose name is called out. The red water represents the blood which results from the perforation of the *hymen*. The faces and bodies of the boys are smeared with this red water. Red is regarded as the colour of life and well-being. The boys then go to the woods, where they must expose themselves to the sun as much as possible.[3] The second feature of this Halmahera ceremony leads us to a further point. The

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 93 *et seq.*

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 138.

[3] *Id.*, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 81-82.

religious importance of women's blood has been described by Sir James Frazer.[1] The object of smearing the boys with the red water, symbolical of the blood shed at the perforation of the *hymen*, is to secure them from harm, which the ideas treated of in this book explain, that may arise from sexual intercourse. The method is the familiar one of inoculation. External application is a method of transmission, as we have seen,[2] and sympathetic inoculation is a form of this. There is also to be observed the injunction that the boys must expose themselves to the sun. This fact taken in conjunction with the sun-taboo common at puberty, goes to show the origin of this idea, namely, that heat, natural or artificial, is a concomitant of sexual desire. The connection between fire and sex is also emphasised by the similarity in colour of fire and blood, and by the combination in one ceremony of painting the body red and of exposure to the sun. This sympathetic rehearsal is obviously intended to initiate the youths into the mystery of sexual union, and also to neutralise its dangers. We cannot see in the Halmahera custom any trace of a symbolical pretence of begetting them anew, which Sir James Frazer thinks is the meaning.[3]

The origin of circumcision has been already suggested.[4] There is also often to be traced the idea that, by removing a part of the organism, dangerous and in danger as it is, these dangers are neutralised ; this passes later into the notion that thus its "impurity" is removed, and the sexual act made less gross. A common practice, corresponding to circumcision of males, is the excision of girls at puberty, and the same idea is doubtless the origin of the practice.

[1] [Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1911-1915), iii. 250-251.]

[2] [Above, i. 138-139.]

[3] Sir J. G. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 248.

[4] [Above, i. 170.]

There is next to be noticed in a remarkable set of customs, a practice which also shows the object of these precautions ; this is in its simpler form, the introduction of the initiate to the opposite sex ; in its more complete form, there is sexual or other intercourse. The idea is of the same nature as that of inoculation, as seen in the Halmahera custom, and is parallel to a trial of sexual relations. Now that the individual is prepared to meet the complementary sex, he must do so ; for, however strong sexual taboo may be, men and women must meet, in marriage at least ; and thus the two sexes make trial of each other, as if the preparation necessitated putting it to the test ; and thereby each sex is practically inoculated against the other, by being inoculated with each other, in view of the more permanent alliance of wedlock.

We saw[1] this practice followed in Australia after the ceremonial rupture of the *hymen*. Narrinyeri boys during initiation, after the preliminary rites, had complete licence as regards unmarried females, not only such as they might lawfully marry, but even those of their own clan and totems.[2] Immediately after circumcision a Ceramese boy must have intercourse with some girl, it matters not with whom, "by way of curing the wound." This is continued till the blood ceases to flow.[3] In certain tribes of Central Africa both boys and girls after initiation must as soon as possible have intercourse, the belief being that if they do not they will die.[4] After the seclusion of a Kaffir girl at puberty, she is allowed to

[1] [Above, ii. 19.]

[2] A. W. Howitt *and* L. Fison, "From Mother-right to Father-right," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 37.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 139.

[4] D. Macdonald, *Africana* (1882), i. 126.

cohabit with anyone during a festal period which follows ;[1] and Kaffir boys after being circumcised are allowed to seize any unmarried women they please, and have connection with them.[2] A similar custom is found on the Congo.[3] The Muslim negroes of the Senegal are circumcised at the age of fourteen. They are looked after for a month, during which time they walk about in a procession. "They may commit during this period any violence against girls, except rape and murder." After the month is up, they are men.[4] A Zulu girl at puberty goes through a ceremonial process. Secluded in a special hut, she is attended by twelve or fourteen girls. "No married man may come near the dwelling, and should any one do so he is beaten away by the girls, who attack him most viciously with sticks and stones. During her seclusion the neophyte must on no account see or address any man, married or unmarried." At the end of the period a number of girls and unmarried men have intercourse in the hut. After a further period of seclusion the girl bathes and is "clean," and after the perforation of the *hymen* by two old women she is a woman.[5] After initiation to the warrior's set, *El-moran*, the Masai young men associated freely with girls ; in fact each *El-moran* had a lady who went about with him, and the practice was very similar to that known in the Europe of Chivalry—the girl, for instance, puts on the warrior's armour for him.[6]

The introduction to adults' food contains the same

[1] J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[3] J. Macdonald, "East Central African Customs," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 100.

[4] W. W. Reade, *Savage Africa* (1863), p. 451.

[5] J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1891), xx. 117-118.

[6] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 187.

idea, and often is inoculation against contagion of women's food and eating with women. Before their initiation Halmaherese boys may not eat *pisang* or fowls. At the end of the initiation feast women give to the boys *pisang* and fowl's flesh to eat.[1] The idea was illustrated [2] in connection with the removal of food-taboos at puberty.

The idea also assumes other forms in which we see both the savage impulse towards make-believe, and the recognition that certain characteristics of puberty and of puberty ceremonies alike have relation to sexual complementary function, a recognition developed, as so often by sexual taboo, into sexual antagonism. This sexual hostility appeared in some of the last few examples. As often in such cases, especially when general licence takes place, the sympathy of others is shown in the most practical way. What is in effect the last phase of the *Engwura*, or final initiation ceremony of the Arunta, is a dance performed by young women, by way of invitation to men ; and "at this period of the ceremonies a general interchange and also a lending of women takes place, and visiting natives are provided with temporary wives." This woman's dance goes on every night for two or three weeks.[3] Here we can see "sympathy" at work, and the union of society effected, not by promiscuity, but by a sacred exchange which assists the future union of the young people. This sexual sympathy passing into antagonism is sometimes fulfilled by one sex assuming the apparel of the other. Amongst the Basutos the initiation both of youths and girls at puberty was called

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 82.

[2] [Above, i. 279-280.]

[3] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 381.

pollo. It was not held at the same time for both sexes. The ceremony was incumbent upon every member of the community at the proper age. All who passed through it together, formed "a guild of friends." The candidates went out into the country—here we speak of the boys' *pollo*—and no woman dared come near them. Their food was prepared by the men in charge, who instructed them in male duties, and put them through tests of endurance. They were circumcised, and after the operation wore aprons for three months. The girls likewise were taken into the country, and were instructed by the women in female duties. They were smeared with ashes. No male might come near them. "The women folk acted like mad people during this time ; they went about performing curious mummeries, wearing men's clothes, and carrying weapons, and were very saucy to men they met." [1] At the second initiation ceremony of the Arunta there are women who dance, carrying shields (the men's property) ; shields are never carried by women except on this occasion.[2]

Lastly, as the ceremonies of initiation prepare the two sexes for contact with each other, and are followed by introduction and intercourse, the practice is, so far, a preliminary marriage ceremony, in which a boy or girl is married to the other sex *in extenso ;* more than this, however, is often the case, and initiation is actually marriage. Savage women, and to some extent men also, are marriageable and married at puberty, and the combination of ceremonies is a natural one. The ideas of sexual taboo, we take it, have caused the deferring of marriage to a later date. There are several examples

[1] K. Endemann, "Mittheilungen über die Sotho-Neger," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1874), vi. 37 *et seq.*

[2] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

which show the link between initiation ceremonies and marriage, which it is hardly necessary to quote. For instance, amongst the Central Australian tribes the ceremony performed on girls at puberty is actually their marriage rite, though as Messrs Spencer and Gillen point out, it serves as an initiation for the girls.[1] For the boys the initiation means more than this, but it also includes a reference to marriage ; for instance, after the first of the initiatory ceremonies the boy is painted by the man who is *Umbirna* to him, that is, brother of the woman he may marry.[2] Also the woman who will be the boy's mother-in-law, runs off with him, but the men bring him back again.[3] Amongst the Kamilaroi the novice is taken from the women by the men of that clan to which belong the women he may select his wife from. Each novice has a "guardian" of that clan.[4]

Section 2

In primitive society the young man and maiden are required to avoid each other from the time of their engagement until marriage. This taboo is a repetition for two particular individuals of the taboo at puberty between the two sexes generally. The principle here also is to prevent all intercourse until the particular ceremonies which obviate the dangers of the new relation, mutual contagion between two particular persons, have been performed, and to prepare them for these and for the new state of life—the taboo of avoidance being thought to be in itself some guarantee of future safety. The dangers are those of sexual taboo, here naturally

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 215. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[4] R. H. Mathews, "The Bora, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kamilaroi Tribe," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 420.

emphasised, for the two sexes are now to meet; they coincide, as they are in origin connected, with that mutual diffidence arising from complementary sexual difference and accentuated at the awakening of love—the shyness of sex. The young people are about to enter upon a critical state, that of living in more or less close contact with each other, and as that state derives its dangers from their reciprocal influence, a taboo is set between them until it is removed by the ceremony which unites them while rendering them mutually innocuous.

The practice naturally coincides with the desire of parents to keep the couple waiting till arrangements are completed, and to prevent union until they are bound together, such premature union being thought especially dangerous, and in later culture sinful, while in all stages it leaves repudiation open to the man, with consequent injury to the woman. Amongst the Nickol Bay natives girls promised in marriage are not allowed to speak to their future husbands, and are said to be *torka* to them.[1] So in the Newcastle tribe, when an old man promises a young friend that he shall have his wife after his death, the husband-expectant is forbidden to speak to his future wife and to sit in a hut in which she is.[2] After betrothal in Nias,[3] Borneo,[4] and the Watubella Islands,[5] no communication between the pair is allowed till the wedding. In Buru,[6] Ceram[7] and Luang Sermata[8] a youth when engaged may not go near his betrothed, look at her, or speak to her. In New Guinea betrothed persons may

[1] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 298.

[2] *Ibid.*, 324.

[3] C. B. H. von Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel* (1878), p. 38.

[4] M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving des Dajaks* (1870), p. 50.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 205.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 21. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 134. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 324.

not see each other. Should they meet on the road, the girl must hide behind a tree until the young man has passed.[1] Amongst the Lampongs[2] and Menangkabauers[3] of Sumatra no communication is allowed between betrothal and marriage. "The Malay *fiancée*, unlike her European sister, is at the utmost pains to keep out of her lover's way, and to attain this object she is said to be as watchful as a tiger."[4] The Wataveta bridegroom pays the "bride-price" in bullocks, sometimes by instalments. After one payment the bride is "sealed" to him. She is not allowed to go out of the house, and may on no account see a man, not even her betrothed. If the latter is poor, the engagement may last, as it often does in civilised races, for years.[5] Among the Jews of Morocco the pair never see each other from the engagement to the marriage.[6] [This separation between the betrothed merges into parallel observances between newly married persons, a custom which is considered in the next chapter.][7]

It is a curious fact, which will later be shown[8] to have considerable importance, that the taboo between engaged couples reproduces the common taboo between a brother and a sister; in other words, their state is a representation of life in the family, where sister and brother are kept apart, and the "sanctity" of the home, in the primitive sense, is preserved by the mother on the principles of sexual taboo.

[1] J. B. von Hasselt, "Die Nveforezen [*sic* for Noeforezen]," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1876), viii. 180.

[2] D. W. Horst, "Uit de Lampongs," *De Indische Gids* (1880), II. i. 978.

[3] A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (1882), p. 275.

[4] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 366.

[5] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 61.

[6] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (1876), p. 34.

[7] [Below, ii. 46 *et seq.*]

[8] [Below, ch. xxii.]

Lastly, these principles also supply the reason why betrothal is generally carried out by proxies, and why sometimes a man does not even woo his lady-love in person. Thus amongst the Kaffirs, when the suitor calls to make the acquaintance of the girl, the latter speaks to him through her brother, for she will not do so direct.[1] Amongst the Yao and allied tribes, there is an institution which we might call "surety" or "god-parent." Every girl has a surety; and when her hand is sought in marriage it is this official who is approached and not her parents. He makes the necessary arrangements and sees what provision is to be made for her and her children, and also in the event of her being sent away without just cause, he interferes, and generally redresses her wrongs.[2] "Representatives" of the Malay suitor visit the girl's parents to perform the betrothal. After matters are arranged, one of these presents some *betel*, brought for the purpose, to the people of the house, saying, "This is a pledge of your daughter's betrothal." The father replies, "Be it so, I accept it."[3]

[1] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 56.

[2] J. Macdonald, "East Central African Customs," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 118.

[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 365.

CHAPTER XIV

MARRIAGE AND ITS CEREMONIES

Few peoples, if any, of those known to us, are without some marriage ceremony. As to those who are said to possess none, it will generally be found that there is some act performed which is too slight or too practical to be marked by an observer as a "ceremony," but which when analysed turns out to be a real marriage rite.[1] Two common modes of marriage amongst the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes illustrate this, and also go to prove the correctness of the view here put forward, that marriage rites of union are essentially identical with love-charms,[2] and that other marriage rites coincide with precautions taken to lessen the dangers of contact between the sexes, not only in ordinary life, but also at the critical stage of puberty. A man or woman in the Arunta tribe can charm a person of the other sex to love by making music with a bullroarer. If he or she soon comes to the musician, the marriage is thereby complete.[3]

[1] [Dr Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 594-595, now agrees with this view. At the time when Mr Crawley wrote this chapter, as he explains in the preface, Dr Westermarck's discussion of marriage ceremonies was restricted to one short chapter (*The History of Human Marriage*, 3rd edition, 1901, pp. 417-430). In part as a result of Mr Crawley's criticisms, as Dr Westermarck freely acknowledges (*op. cit.*, 5th edition, 1921, i. p. vi.), this subject now occupies three masterly chapters in his treatise (ii. 432-595), which therefore on this point also has now become indispensable to the student of this subject.]

[2] [This view now has the approval of Dr Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1908), iii. 40 *n.*]

[3] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 541-542.

This method is a love-charm in the Yaroinga tribe.[1] The other method is the perforation of the *hymen*, at once an initiatory and a marriage ceremony.[2] [Dr Malinowski summarises the evidence on this point, the existence of marriage ceremonies in Australia, and concludes, in agreement with our view, that the alleged lack of evidence for such ceremonies "seems on one side to result from the slight and superficial acquaintance these observers had with the aborigines: on the other side from the fact that even in cases where we have such ceremonies described by very reliable informants and their binding power asserted, they are described as being so simple and insignificant, that it is easy to conceive they might readily escape the notice of even a good observer, or at least their nature and importance might be misunderstood."][3] For, in fact, the mere act of union is potentially a marriage ceremony of the sacramental kind, and as the ideas of contact develop directly from physiological functions, one may even credit the earliest animistic men with some such vague conception before any ceremony became crystallised.

Marriage being the permanent living-together of a man and a woman, what is the essence of a marriage ceremony? It is the "joining together" of a man and a woman; in the words of the English Service, "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh." At the other side of the world, these words are pronounced by an elder of the Orang Benuas when

[1] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (1897), p. 182.

[2] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 *et seq.*

[3] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), p. 52; cp. *ibid.*, pp. 53, 306.

a marriage is solemnised: "Listen all ye that are present; those that were distant are now brought together; those that were separated are now united."[1] Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture may be called religious with as much propriety as any ceremony whatever; but this religious character in most cases, and practically always except in the highest stages, concerns the human relations of the human pair. We have shown above[2] how in primitive thought human relations contain the essentials of a religious character. We need not recapitulate here the principles of human relations as expressed in ideas of contact, or their application to relations between the two sexes. Before marriage, and in many cases also after marriage, the sexes are separated by these ideas of sexual taboo; at marriage, they are joined together by the same ideas, worked out, in the most important set of rites, to their logical conclusion in reciprocity of relations. Those who were separated are now joined together, those who were mutually taboo, now break the taboo. In the higher stages the ceremony lifts the union into the ideal plane, as, for instance, symbolising the mystic union of Christ and his Church; or, as in Brahmin marriages, where the bridegroom says to the bride, "I am the sky, thou art the earth; come let us marry,"[3] words referring to the two chief parents and objects of worship of the Aryan race, Father Sky and Mother Earth.[4] It is also unnecessary to recapitulate the various dangers which have

[1] T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (1839), ii. 407. [Cp. H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1910), vi. 435.]

[2] [Above, Chapters IV, V.]

[3] Sir E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1903), i. 327.

[4] [As to Father Sky, see Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature* (1926), i. 20 *et seq.*; as to Mother Earth, see *ibid.*, i. 316 *et seq.*]

been shown,[1] responsible for the taboo between the sexes and the various sexual properties of which the contagion is feared, all of which lead to the implicit idea that not only all contact of man and woman, but the state of marriage itself, is harmful, and later, sinful, in fact, theoretically forbidden. Hence the conception that marriage ceremonies prevent this danger and this sin. It is sufficient merely to state that the ceremonies of marriage are intended to neutralise these dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. With this is connected the wish to bind one to the other, so as to prevent, if possible, later repudiation. This, by the way, is exactly the idea held still by the average man.

We may also point out here that the object of marriage ceremonies is not, and never was, to join together the man or the woman, as the case may be, with the life or blood or flesh of the tribe. There is no trace of this sentimental socialism in primitive society, though there are facts which look like it, no more than there is or ever was a community of wives ; marriage is between individuals and is an individualistic act.[2] The mere existence of the egoistic impulse, not to be casually identified with jealousy, is enough to discredit the suggestion ; and the tendency of society from primitive animalism upwards has been from individualism to socialism.[3] It is a perversion of history, and of psychology as well, to make man more communistic the more primitive he is. There may be a few isolated cases in

[1] [*E.g.*, above, i. 224 *et seq.*]

[2] [According to Dr Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), p. 307, this view is supported by the Australian evidence.]

[3] [M. von Gennep, in a review of the first edition of *The Mystic Rose*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (1903), xlvii. 92, without giving any reason for his opinion, asserts the contrary.]

peoples whose tribal solidarity has become pronounced, where the later legal notion has arisen; but, since in nearly all such cases marriage is allowed within the tribe, exogamy nearly always sanctioning cousin-marriage, there can be no original intention of making tribe-fellows of two persons who are already tribe-fellows. Nor did any man ever yet marry a tribe, although in the humorous side of life, relatives are sometimes found to act as if he did; no man ever yet felt the tribal blood surge through his veins as he drank wine with his wife in the marriage ceremony. True, a new relationship is formed, a new member enters the family or tribe (rarely the latter), but this idea is secondary, and does not touch the marriage ceremony except in a few cases as referred to, in which it is probable that the report is half inference; in any case it is a pseudo-scientific piece of myth-making, whether on the part of the observer or of the native informant. The Church in her marriage-service shows more insight than many ethnologists, when she repeats the words, "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh." The word "flesh," by the way, does not by any means refer to kinship or tribal union, as who should say in late human parlance, "one blood." Even in the Hebrew the individual meaning is the primary one. This is also recognised by our Service: "So ought men to love their wives, as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself, for no man ever yet hated his own flesh." Lastly, is it fear of the tribe that makes a maid veil her face before her intended husband, or a bridegroom dress up as a woman? The inadequacy of the theory is evident in every kind of marriage rite.[1]

[1] A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 167, is of the opinion that his own theories render it useless to discuss the view here put forward that marriage is

We shall recur[1] to this when discussing "group-marriage" and similar relationships.

Marriage ceremonies neutralise the dangers attaching to union between the sexes, in all the complex meaning of those dangers.[2] The ritual may be divided into two classes, corresponding to the two divisions of ideas concerning contact, those namely that obviate or neutralise the dangers of taboo (1) by one or more of the simple methods, (2) by one or more of the double or complex methods, typified by *ngia ngiampe* or mutual inoculation. The first breaks taboo by removing or neutralising the taboo property, the second breaks taboo between two persons by breaking it, that is, by assimilating the two persons, inoculating them with each other, the principle coinciding with that of union. Marriage sums up all the principles and practice of sexual taboo, as any close union between any two persons sums up those of social taboo, and in the details it will frequently be obvious how some ceremony answers to some taboo, as a positive to a negative.

Lastly, when we find only one or two sorts of ceremonies referring directly to sexual intercourse, while the

an individualistic act, and he accordingly dismisses it without reason given. Elsewhere, however, in his review already cited (p 83), he explains that Mr Crawley's mistake was due to a confusion which he thus describes: "L'auteur a commis en effet une confusion regrettable en identifiant deux formes de mariage, l'une qui est ce qu'on peut appeler le mariage libre, l'union libre ou l'union tout court; et l'autre qui est le mariage proprement dit; et parallèlement, il faut distinguer entre les rites d'union et les rites de mariage." This may be so, but I agree with Mr Crawley in failing to perceive any such distinction in genuinely savage custom. All the evidence shows that the rites of union are identical for all union, and that the legal ideas are late. See also A. von Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar* (1904), pp. 51-53.]

[1] [Below, ii. 250-258.]

[2] [Cp. R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion* (1914), p. 96 *n.*[3]; E. S. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience* (1910), p. 89.]

others refer to ordinary contact, with special reference to eating together, and generally to the state of living together in contact, we need not refer marriage ceremonies generally to fear of danger from sexual intercourse alone, or from female periodicity ; these take their place as parts of the whole, as they do in sexual taboo.

It is interesting to note the materialistic power attached to the marriage rite, as shown, for instance, in Burma. It is believed in this country that when a wife dies in child-bed she becomes a maleficent demon. Accordingly, when a wife dies thus, the husband at once gets a divorce.[1] We may also note that with many peoples (as the Malays,[2] the Morocco Berbers[3] and the modern Egyptians),[4] and the fact is instructive, there is less ceremonial when a widow is married. In cases where the "paternal system" is followed, there should on the tribal theory of marriage, be no marriage at all when a widow is married, because she has already the life of the tribe flowing in her veins ; but there is some ceremony. It is reduced precisely because she has been through the same thing before, and is therefore less in danger from men and less dangerous. She has been handselled.

For practical purposes, as is hardly necessary to premise, the complex fears of men and women are often subconscious, or are only expressed as a feeling of diffidence with regard to the novel proceedings, and also are not always focussed on the personality of either party

[1] J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1834-1835), i. 173.

[2] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 382.

[3] J. E. B. Meakin, "The Morocco Berbers," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 11.

[4] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 195.

with its inherent dangerous properties nor stimulated by conscious realisation of particular dangers. Potentially the consciousness has knowledge of all the principles, and cross-examination might elicit most, but actually the fears are vague, they are fears of vague strangeness and danger. We have, however, seen cases where the individual in marriage is consciously aware that it is his human partner who is to be feared, and others will occur as we proceed.[1] In the county of Durham men with guns used to escort the bridal party to church. The guns were fired at intervals over the heads of the bride and bridesmaids. In Cleveland guns were fired over the heads of the newly married pair all the way from church.[2] [The same practice of firing over the heads of bride and bridegroom on the way to or from the church in which the marriage ceremony is celebrated is found in many parts of Europe.][3] Amongst the Mordvins, as the bridegroom's party sets out for the house of the bride, the best man marches thrice round the party with a drawn sword or scythe, imprecating curses upon ill-wishers. In Nizhegorod the best man walks thrice round the party, against the sun, holding an *eikon*. Then he places himself in front of them, and scratches the ground with a knife, cursing evil spirits and evilly disposed persons.[4]

In China it was supposed that when a new bride in her chair passed a certain place, evil spirits would approach and injure her, causing her to be ill; hence

[1] [See below, ii. 142.]

[2] W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* (1879), p. 38.

[3] E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (1911), pp. 43-45; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 498-499; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (1918), i. 521-522.

[4] J. Abercromby, "Marriage Customs of the Mordvins," *Folk-Lore* (1890), i. 445.

the figure of a great magician (a Taoist priest) riding a tiger, and brandishing a sword, was painted in front.[1] In Manchuria the bride is taken in procession to the bridegroom's house. Two men run in front, each holding a red cloth, by which it is intended to ward off evil influences; an excellent application of the man with the red flag. Also the sedan-chair in which she goes to the bridegroom's house is "disinfected" with incense, to drive away evil spirits, and in it is put a calendar containing names of idols who control the demoniacal hosts. Again, when the bridal sedan-chair arrives at the bridegroom's house, the door is shut and crackers are fired to keep off evil spirits; before the bride leaves the chair the bridegroom fires three arrows at its blinds.[2] [From a detailed account of these ceremonies as they are practised in Peking, we learn that there it is the custom for the bride to be fetched and then the bridegroom. When the sedan-chairs come for the bride the door is closed and an entry into the house can only be obtained by a mock payment; when those who have come for the bride at last enter the house, they throw coins into the air for the evil spirits. The whole party then proceeds to the bridegroom's house, the door of which is closed, obliging the bride to wait. In due course her chair is permitted to be taken into the courtyard and there it is held over a brazier in order to do away with any evil influences that may cling to it. Other precautions are also taken.[3]

At the ancient Indian wedding arrows were shot into the air, with the words, "I pierce the eyes of the spirits

[1] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 95.

[2] J. H. S. Lockhart, "The Marriage Ceremonies of the Manchus," *Folk-Lore* (1890), i. 487.

[3] W. Grube, "Zur Pekinger Volkskunde," *Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin* (1901), vii. 20-21.

who surround the bride."][1] Among the Bhils and Bhilalahs the groom touches the marriage-shed with a sword.[2] [In Nias the chief stretches a lance four times to heaven and then swings it four times over the bride.][3] Amongst the Bechuanas the bridegroom throws an arrow into the hut before he enters to take his bride.[4] [On these lines, the desire to frighten away or neutralise evil influences], is to be explained the old Roman custom in which the bridegroom combed the bride's hair with a spear, the *caelibaris hasta*,[5] and not as a survival of "marriage by capture."

The practice of throwing rice originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and depart, but in many cases it seems to have developed into a systematic method of securing fertility, and on the other hand is regarded by some peoples as an inducement to the soul to stay.[6] In Celebes, for instance, there is a belief that the bridegroom's soul is apt to fly away at marriage, and rice is therefore scattered over him to induce it to remain.[7] Flour and sweatmeats similarly in old Greek custom were poured over the new bridegroom.[8] Where, as

[1] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), p. 271.

[2] W. Kincaid, "The Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 404.

[3] L. Bouchal, "Indonesischer Zahlenglaube," *Globus* (1903), lxxxiv. 233.

[4] C. R. Conder, "The Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland," *J.A.I.* (1887), xvi. 83.

[5] Festus, *De verborum significatione*, 44; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 87. [Cp. E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (1911), p. 45 *n.*[4], who agrees with this view.]

[6] [Cp. A. Betts, "The Symbolic Use of Corn at Weddings," *The Westminster Review* (1912), clxxviii. 542 *et seq.*]

[7] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), p. 33. [Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 30, 39; R. van Eck, "De Mangkasaren en Boegineezen," *De Indische Gids* (1881), III. ii. 1038.]

[8] Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 768.

often in folk-custom, such things are flung about among the onlookers, the idea was originally of the type first described.[1] The nuts used at old Roman weddings are a well-known instance.[2]

A common class of preliminary ceremonial includes various kinds of lustration or purification, the inner meaning of which is to neutralise the mutual dangers of contact. Before the wedding the bridegroom in South Celebes bathes in holy water. The bride is also fumigated.[3] Purification by water forms "an integral part of Malay customs at birth, adolescence, marriage, sickness, death, and, in fact, at every critical period in the life of a Malay."[4] In all these it is called *tepong tawar*, which properly means "the neutralising rice-flour water, neutralising being used almost in a chemical sense, *i.e.*, in the sense of 'sterilising' the active element of poisons, or of destroying the active potentialities of evil spirits."[5] Amongst the Malays these lustrations are continued by the newly married pair for three days.[6] The first ceremonies at a wedding consist in fumigating the bride and groom with incense, and then smearing them with "neutralising paste" which averts ill-luck.[7] Here the idea emerges into conscious realisation of the persons to be feared. When the Matabele bride arrives at the bridegroom's house she pours water over him.[8]

We saw[9] that initiation practices are theoretically

[1] [This view is accepted by E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (1901), p. 2; *id.*, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (1911), pp. 172 *et seq.*; S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions* (1905-1912), i. 117; and in part by Dr Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 470 *et seq.* See also Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), ii. 260.]

[2] Festus, *De verborum significatione*, 183.

[3] B. F. Matthes, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[4] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 278.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

[8] L. Deele, "Some Matabele Customs," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 84.

[9] [Above, ii. 21-25.]

marriage ceremonies by which the individual is married in abstract to the other sex—that is, prepared for the dangers of intercourse. Naturally the two are often combined or show similarity of rite. Thus, in British Guiana a young man before marriage undergoes an ordeal; his flesh is wounded and he is sewn into a hammock full of fire ants.[1] Amongst the Sakalavas and Betsileo the aspirant to a lady's hand has to be shot at with spears; he is expected to show cleverness and courage by avoiding them.[2] In Fiji girls are tattooed at puberty or immediately after marriage. During the process of healing they are *tabu siga*, "kept from the sun."[3] In connection with this, we have seen[4] the meaning of the prohibition and may note that, as danger is obviated by refraining from such exposure, in the same way as by abstinence at marriage, superstition and self-control alike being thus satisfied, so, when the individual is spiritually prepared, exposure or satisfaction becomes safe and even beneficial. After initiation Halmahera boys must expose themselves to the sun.[5] Similar was the custom among the Hindus, according to which the bride had to look at the sun on the day before marriage.[6] In Central Asia the young pair greet the rising sun.[7] Similarly amongst the Chacos.[8] The

[1] Sir E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (1883), p. 221.

[2] J. Sibree, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 42.

[3] J. Williams *and* J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (1870), i. 170.

[4] [Above, i. 236.]

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 82.

[6] Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (1885), p. 354.

[7] H. Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk* (1885), p. 112.

[8] T. J. Hutchinson, "The Chaco and other Indians of South America," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* (1865), *n.s.*, iii. 327.

fertilising power of the sun is now useful and a blessing. We may compare our proverb, "Happy is the bride on whom the sun shines."

Weddings very commonly take place in the evening, or at night, a custom natural enough for its convenience and its obviation of dangers, such as that of the evil eye and those connected with human, and especially with female, shyness and timidity. Taken in connection with the last custom, we may without excess of fancifulness note the coincidence with nature's method of shrouding her processes of production in mystery and darkness, and of revealing their results in the light. Amongst the Santals marriages take place at night, and the bride is conveyed to her husband in a basket.[1] In Morocco,[2] the Babar Islands,[3] and amongst the Maoris,[4] to take only a few cases, marriages are made after sunset or at night. Amongst the ancient Romans the bridegroom had to go to his bride in the dark, a custom on which Plutarch speculates in his Roman Questions.[5] Amongst the Zulus it is against etiquette for the bridal party to enter the bridegroom's hut in the daytime.[6]

In the next place we find various customs by which the young people hide, from vague evil or from each other. In these customs, which pass into various sorts of seclusion, concealment and veiling, the real meaning of such marriage ceremonial is often very clearly seen. Sexual shyness not only in woman but in man, is intensified at marriage, and forms a chief feature of the dangerous

[1] E. G. Man, *Santhalia and the Santhals* [1867], pp. 98-99.

[2] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (1876), p. 34.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 350.

[4] E. Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (1851), p. 140.

[5] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 65; Servius on Virgil, *Eclogues*, viii. 29.

[6] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), p. 115.

sexual properties mutually feared. When fully ceremonial, the idea takes on the meaning that satisfaction of these feelings will lead to their neutralisation, as in fact it does. The bridegroom in ancient Sparta supped on the wedding-night at the men's mess, and then visited his bride, leaving her before daybreak. This practice was continued, and sometimes children were born before the pair had ever seen each other's faces by day.[1] At weddings in the Babar Islands the bridegroom has to hunt for his bride in a darkened room. This lasts a good while if she is shy.[2] In South Africa the bridegroom may not see his bride till the whole of the marriage ceremonies have been performed.[3] In Persia a husband never sees his wife till he has consummated the marriage.[4] In Egypt the groom cannot see the face of his bride, even by a surreptitious glance, till she is in his absolute possession. Then comes the ceremony, which he performs, of uncovering her face.[5] In Egypt, of course, this has been accentuated by the seclusion and veiling of women. In Morocco, at the feast before the marriage, the bride and groom sit together on a sort of throne; all the time the poor bride's eyes are firmly closed, and she sits amid the revelry as immovable as a statue. On the next day is the marriage. She is conducted after dark to her future home, accompanied by a crowd with lanterns and candles. She is led with closed eyes along the street by two relatives, each holding one of her hands. "Such is the regard to propriety on this solemn occasion,

[1] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, xv. 48. [2] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[3] J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 271.

[4] Sir John Chardin, "Travels . . . by the Way of the Black Sea," *in* J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1808-1814), ix. 154.

[5] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 197.

that the bride's head is held in its proper position by a female relative who walks behind her." She wears a veil, and is not allowed to open her eyes until she is set on the bridal bed with a girl friend beside her.[1] Amongst the Zulus the bridal party proceeds to the house of the groom, having the bride hidden amongst them so that no one can see her. They stand facing the groom, while the bride sings a song. Her companions then suddenly break away, and she is discovered standing in the middle with a fringe of beads covering her face.[2] Amongst the people of Kumaun the husband sees his wife first after the joining of hands.[3] Amongst the Bedui of North-East Africa the bride is brought on the evening of the wedding-day by her girl friends to the groom's house. She is closely muffled up.[4] In Melanesia the bride is carried to her new home on someone's back, wrapped in many mats, with palm-fans held about her face, "because she is supposed to be modest and shy."[5] Amongst the Damaras the groom cannot see his bride for four days after marriage.[6] When a Damara woman is asked in marriage, she covers her face for a time with the flap of a head-dress made for this purpose.[7] At the Thlinkeet marriage ceremony the bride must look down and keep her head bowed all the time; during the wedding-day she remains

[1] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (1876), pp. 36-38. [Cp. A. Daguin *and* A. Dubreuil, *Le mariage dans les pays musulmans, particulièrement en Tunisie, en Algérie et dans le Soudan* [1907], pp. 58-59.]

[2] D. Leslie, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[3] H. Rivett-Carnac, "Bethrothal and Marriage Customs—Kumaun," *Panjab Notes and Queries* (1884-1885), ii. 40-41, *note* 244.

[4] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 148.

[5] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (1891), p. 242.

[6] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1879), i. 49.

[7] C. J. Anderson, *Lake Ngami* (1856), p. 225.

hiding in a corner of the house, and the groom is forbidden to enter.[1] In Korea the bride has to cover her face with her long sleeves when meeting the bridegroom at the wedding.[2] The Manchurian bride uncovers her face for the first time when she descends from the nuptial couch.[3]

As has already been shown,[4] it is dangerous even to see dangerous persons. Sight is a method of contagion in primitive science, and the idea coincides with the psychological aversion to see dangerous things, and with sexual shyness and timidity. In the customs noticed we can distinguish the feeling that it is dangerous to the bride for her husband's eyes to be upon her, and the feeling of bashfulness in her which induces her neither to see him nor to be seen by him. These ideas explain the origin of the bridal veil and similar concealments. Dobrizhoffer wrote of Abipone women as often hiding in the woods before marriage, many seeming to dread the assaults of tigers less than the untried nuptials. When the bride was led to the groom's tent, eight girls held a carpet in front of her.[5] Amongst the Bedouins of Ethiopia the bride is concealed under a canopy carried by girls.[6] At Druse marriages the bride is hidden in a long red veil, which is removed by the groom in the bridal chamber.[7] The bridal veil is used, to take a few instances, in Russia,[8]

[1] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (1870), p. 415.

[2] H. S. Saunderson, "Notes on Corea and its People," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 305.

[3] J. H. S. Lockhart, "The Marriage Ceremonies of the Manchus," *J.A.I.* (1890), i. 489.

[4] [Above, i. 148-149.]

[5] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (1784), ii. 208.

[6] Sir W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Æthiopia* (1844), i. 287.

[7] G. W. Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon* (1855), p. 166.

[8] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People* (1872), p. 280.

China,[1] Manchuria,[2] Burma,[3] and Korea;[4] in all these cases the veil conceals the face entirely. Cases where a sacred umbrella is held over the head, as amongst the Chinese,[5] are connected with the sanctity of the head, the idea being to prevent evil coming down upon that sensitive part of the body, as on the occasion when the King of Dahomey drank with Burton and a parasol was placed over him to prevent him being seen.[6] [Dr Westermarck's view is that this custom is due to a desire "to protect bride or bridegroom against dangers from above."[7] And he adduces a parallel custom in which there is apparently a desire to protect against dangers coming from below.[8] But in the former case the examples which Dr Westermarck quotes seem to indicate the view here put forward rather than Dr Westermarck's, for in most of these cases the protection refers specifically to the head, generally taking the form of special headgear or of keeping the head covered.[9] While in the latter case the only examples adduced are from Morocco and are not convincing.][10]

Various methods of seclusion both from each other and from external danger, are illustrated by the following. In certain South African tribes the girl is put into a hut alone. After some days she is taken to another hut, and then to her husband.[11] In New Britain the bride stays in the hut of her intended five days alone, while his

[1] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 70.

[2] J. H. S. Lockhart, "The Marriage Customs of the Manchus," *Folk-Lore* (1890), i. 489.

[3] J. W. Anderson, *Notes of Travel in Fiji and New Caledonia* (1880), p. 141.

[4] W. E. Griffis, *Corea* (1882), p. 249.

[5] J. H. S. Lockhart, "Chinese Folk-Lore," *Folk-Lore* (1890), i. 365.

[6] Sir R. F. Burton, *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey* (1864), i. 244.

[7] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 529.

[8] *Ibid.*, 530. [9] *Ibid.*, 529-530. [10] *Ibid.*, 530-532.

[11] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857), p. 412.

relatives bring her food. Meanwhile he is in one of the hiding-places (known only to the men) in the forest, or hidden in tall grass.[1] In Port Moresby the groom sleeps with the bride, but must leave her before dawn, because "he is ashamed to be seen coming from his wife in daylight."[2] The Tipperah youth serves the bride's father for three years, during which he uses her as a wife. But on the wedding-night he has to sleep with her surreptitiously; he leaves the house before dawn, and absents himself for four days.[3] Amongst the Nufoers the bride and groom may not meet each other alone till the fifth day, but even then only by night, and for four days more he must leave his bride's chamber before day.[4]

Parallel to the New Britain custom is an extension of this idea, illustrated by the custom of Bedouin brides. At night the bride, before consummation of the marriage, runs away to the hills and hides. There her friends bring her food, while the husband looks for her. This is repeated the next night, and when he finds her he must consummate the marriage, and remain all night with her in the hills.[5] [Similarly the Zulu bride wanders about her husband's kraal, pretending to run away.[6] The Herero bride, after she has been brought to her husband's village, shows grief and makes attempts to run away.][7] Conversely in Egypt on the day after marriage the man who carried the bridegroom upstairs takes him to an "entertainment" in the country, where they spend the

[1] R. Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel* (1887), p. 98.

[2] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (1887), p. 163.

[3] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (1870), p. 203.

[4] F. H. H. Guillemard, *The Cruise of the "Marchesa" to Kamschatka and New Guinea* (1889), ii. 287.

[5] J. L Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (1830), p. 269.

[6] J. Tyler, *Forty Years among the Zulus* [1891], p. 203.

[7] H. von Françoise, *Nama und Damara Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika* [1896], p. 196.

whole day. This ceremony is called *el-hooroobeh*, "the flight." The husband returns in the evening.[1] In Korea after three days of marriage the young husband goes away for a time.[2]

Again, both bride and bridegroom are secluded within the house. It is said that amongst some of the Bedui the wife may not leave the house for three years, nor touch any work.[3] ["At Fez she must remain inside the house for two months, or at least six weeks, not even being allowed to go on the roof. At Tangier she was formerly obliged to stay at home for a whole year, but this period has been reduced to three or four months."][4] Amongst the Bedouins the bride stays in the tent for a fortnight.[5] Amongst the Copts the bride may not go out, even to see her parents, till the delivery of her first child, or until the end of the year.[6] The newly wedded pair in the Aru Islands are shut up for four days, and are looked after by the bride's mother.[7] In Ceramlaut the young pair may not go out of the house for three days.[8] Wataveta brides "are set apart for the first year as something almost too good for earth. They are dressed, adorned, physicked, and pampered in every way, almost like goddesses. They are screened from vulgar sight, exempted from all household duties, and prohibited from all social intercourse with all of the other sex except their husbands. They

[1] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptia* (1871), i. 214.

[2] W. E. Griffis, *Corea* (1882), p. 251.

[3] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 148.

[4] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 529.

[5] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (1830), p. 268.

[6] E. W. Lane, *op. cit.*, ii. 333.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 262.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

are never left alone, are accompanied by some one wherever they may wish to go, and are not permitted to exert themselves in the least; even in their short walks they creep at a snail's pace, lest they should overstrain their muscles. Two of these celestial beings were permitted to visit me." They wore veils of iron chain, hanging to below the lips. "They honoured me only with their eyes; they did not let me hear the mellow harmony of their voices. They had to see and be seen, but not to be heard or spoken to. Brides are treated in this manner until they present their husbands with a son or daughter, or the hope of such a desired event has passed away. In the former case the goddess falls to the level of an ordinary housewife; in the other well for her if she be not despised or even discarded."[1] Here the practice passes into care for the unborn child and avoidance of risks on the part of the young wife. On the other hand, in Java neither bride nor groom may go out of the house, or perform any hard work, for forty days before the wedding.[2] In the Kingsmill Islands the house is screened with mats for ten days after marriage, and the bride may not go out.[3]

Behind these customs there is sexual shyness, and the ideas that association with women is improper as well as dangerous, leading to effeminacy, and that, for women, association with men is improper; but, further, these ideas coincide with that solidarity of sex which respects and sympathises with the sexual shyness of each party. Accordingly amongst the Bedui the bride spends the wedding-day with her girl-friends and the bridegroom

[1] C. New, *Life, Wanderings, etc., in Eastern Africa* (1874), pp. 360-361.

[2] Sir T. S. Raffles, *The History of Japan* (1830), i. 325.

[3] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-42* (1845), v. 101.

with young men.[1] During the marriage feast of four days amongst the Damaras the bride may only sleep with the girls, behind her mother's house. The groom is not allowed to see his bride or even to enter the *werft*, during these four days, but stays somewhere behind it. When the pair go to his home, her mother and other women go with them to see her safely installed.[2] At Watubella marriages the men take their places by the bridegroom, and the women by the bride.[3] The Babar bride is attended by women friends.[4] In Amboina the marriage takes place in the house of the young man's parents, but no men may be present. After a week a feast takes place at the house of the bride's parents, but at this only men may be present.[5]

Returning to the subject of disguise, used as a concealment from danger, spiritual, personal and sexual, vaguely conceived or clearly realised in a member of the other sex, we may note the practice of Muslims in the north-west provinces of India, where, for some days before the marriage, both bride and bridegroom wear dirty clothes.[6] The common custom by which the bride's hair is shaven or a lock cut off is doubtless connected with the ideas which cause this practice in other taboo states. Something, some part of one, must be given up by way of propitiating evil influences, a part must be sacrificed for the whole. The idea is sometimes merged in the principle of change of identity, by supposing a part of the

[1] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 148. [Cp. E. Destaing, *Etude sur le dialecte berbère des Beni-Snous* (1907), pp. 287-291.]

[2] G. Viche, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1879), i. 49.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 205.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[6] W. Crooke, in *Panjab Notes and Queries* (1884-1885), ii. 182, *note* 960.

person to be instinct with the properties of the whole. In other cases it becomes later a sacrifice to some deity, as when Greek brides cut off a lock of hair.[1] The head of a Kaffir bride is shaved.[2]

There are some interesting customs which show both the taboo character of bride and bridegroom, and also an attempt at disguising them by fictitious change of identity. "The Malay wedding ceremony, even as carried out by the poorer classes, shows that the contracting parties are treated as royalty, that is to say, as sacred human beings, and if any further proof is required in addition to the evidence which may be drawn from the general character of the ceremony, I may mention first the fact that the bride and bridegroom are actually called *Raja sari* (*i.e.*, 'the sovereigns of a day'), and secondly, that it is a polite fiction that no command of theirs, during their one day of sovereignty, may be disobeyed."[3] During the first week of marriage the Syrian pair play at being king and queen; they sit on a throne, and the villagers sing songs.[4] It has been conjectured that *The Song of Songs* is a collection of such songs.[5]

Somewhat similar is the idea underlying the habit of wearing finery or new clothes for a new or important event. On the same plane is the common custom of erecting a "marriage-bower," well known amongst the Hindu peoples, and once common in Spain.[6] [In the

[1] [Cp. E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griecher und Römer* (1901), pp. 64 *et seq.*]

[2] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 75.

[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 388.

[4] E. T. Dalton, "Beschreibende Ethnologie Bengalens," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1873), v. 270.

[5] [J. G. Wetzstein, "Die syrische Dreschtafel," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1873), v. 270 *et seq.*] Cp. S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1913), pp. 452-453.

[6] T. Moore, *Marriage Customs* (1814), p. 56.

mining districts of Fife, when a bridal company set out in procession for the kirk, the bride and bridegroom were sometimes "bowered," that is, an arch of green boughs was held over their heads.[1] The canopy under which Jewish weddings are still universally celebrated may be an application of the same idea.]

Next comes the very interesting custom of substituting a mock bride for the real one. Thus amongst the Beni-Amer, the groom and his friends are often mocked when they come to take the bride, her people substituting a false bride for the true one. The substitute is carefully disguised and allows herself to be taken, and at last when the procession is well outside the village, she reveals herself and runs back laughing. This may be done more than once.[2] Amongst the Saxons of Transylvania, the bride is concealed with two married women behind a curtain, on the evening of the wedding-day, and the husband has to guess which is his wife, all three try to mislead him.[3] Amongst the Moksha, an old woman dressed up as a bride danced before the company.[4] Amongst the Esthonians, the bride's brother dresses up in women's clothes and personates the bride.[5] In Brittany, the substitutes are first a little girl, then the mistress of the house, and lastly the grandmother.[6] In Poland an old woman, in Polonia a bearded man,

[1] J. E. Simpkins, *Examples of Printed Folk-lore concerning Fife* (1914), p. 392.

[2] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 324.

[3] E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest* (1888), p. 185.

[4] J. Abercromby, "Marriage Customs of the Mordvins," *Folk-lore* (1890), i. 446.

[5] [L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften* (1888), p. 218.]

[6] [Baron I. *and* Baroness O. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (1871), p. 246.]

personate the bride.[1] This kind of thing is common in European folk custom.[2]

Bride or groom is sometimes attended by one or more persons dressed up to resemble him or her. These persons are intended to be duplicates, and the idea is "safety in numbers," combined with similarity of costume, much as the sacred shield of Roman worship was kept safe by being placed amongst a number of facsimiles. The *bale muri* of Fiji has the same origin. The modern Egyptian bridegroom walks between two friends dressed exactly like himself.[3] Amongst the Abyssinians, when a princess is married, she is accompanied in the procession by her sister, dressed exactly like herself.[4] [At Fez, "when the bride is taken to her future home, she is accompanied not only by the bridegroom's people who have come to fetch her, some men of her own family, and a crowd of boys, but by some—perhaps six or eight—women relatives, who are dressed exactly like herself so that no one can distinguish between them ; this was said to protect her from magic and the evil eye."[5] In South Celebes, the bride is accompanied by a woman of her own age and dressed like her, while the bridegroom

[1] [J. Piprek, *Slawische Brautwerbungs- und Hochzeitsgebräuche* (1914), pp. 108 *et seq.*]

[2] [See, *e.g.*, F. Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland* (1902), p. 317 ; Baron I. *and* Baroness O. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (1871), pp. 53, 113, 150, 179, 183, 191, 246 ; — John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im Deutschen Westböhmen* (n.d.), p. 128 ; P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (1903), i. 245, 256 ; L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten* (1888), p. 69 ; — Hessler, *Hessische Landes- und Volkskunde* (n.d.), ii. 282 ; H. Usener, "Italische Mythen," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1875), xxx. 183-186 ; G. M. Godden, "The False Bride," *Folk-lore* (1893) iv. 142-148.]

[3] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 212.

[4] Sir W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Æthiopia* (1844), ii. 225.

[5] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 525-526 ; *id.*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914), pp. 165-166.

is similarly accompanied by a young man.[1] And the same practice is found in European folk-custom.][2]

The very natural practice of being accompanied on these, as on other important occasions, by a friend of one's own sex, has crystallised into the institution of groomsmen, bridesmaids and the like. They resemble generally persons like the Roman *advocati*, who were witnesses to character and general supporters of a litigant. In marriage ceremonial their original function is sympathy and assistance in a trying ordeal more or less fraught with spiritual danger, but sometimes their duty becomes more specialised. At Egyptian weddings, the bride is attended by several girls who cluster round her under the same canopy.[3] We may compare the Zulu custom of surrounding the girl with a throng of maidens.[4] At Malay weddings the bride is attended by one or more girl-companions, and the bridegroom by two pages.[5] During the first few days after a wedding, the South Celebes bride is attended, in addition to the woman dressed like herself, by eight girls.[6] The Abyssinian bridegroom is attended by six to twelve bridesmen, called *arkees*, who have special functions and extraordinary privileges. Boys of the same social class unite together and form a kind of society, binding themselves to act as *arkees* for each other. At the marriage ceremony they pledge themselves to fulfil towards the bride the part of "brethren"; they wait on her, and furnish her with meat should she hunger, and with milk should she thirst. During the first few weeks of

[1] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie von Zuider-Celebes* (1875), p. 29.

[2] See, *e.g.*, E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 526.

[3] E. W. Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 200, 217.

[4] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), p. 116.

[5] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 375.

[6] B. F. Matthes, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

marriage the *arkees* sleep in the bridal chamber and supply the pair with anything they may want during the night; and one *arkee* keeps constant watch during this period over the bride.[1] In these examples is well seen the way in which the women stand by the bride and the men by the groom, a fact which indicates the real origin of marriage ceremonies. The last case shows a chivalrous perversion of sympathy. Again, in Russia, on the wedding-night a man called a *klyetnik* was appointed to watch round the bridal chamber;[2] [while among the White Russians, the best-man lies down on the marriage bed before the bride and bridegroom.][3] Similarly in ancient Greece, one of the bridegroom's friends was called θυρωρός; he used to stand at the door and prevent the women assisting the bride when she screamed.[4] The hardy suggestion which has been made, that our "best man" was originally the strongest of the bridegroom's friends who assisted him in capturing the bride from the foreign tribe is well refuted by this as by all the evidence. It is sex, not the tribe, that is concerned.

It is a very general custom that as many preliminaries as possible, including the proposal of marriage and the arrangement of the contract, should be performed not by the bride-elect, but by friends or sponsors. The reason is obvious after what has been said. Thus in Egypt the marriage contract is performed between the bridegroom and the bride's deputy (*wekeel*). These two join hands, which are ceremonially covered with a cloth.[5] We thus

[1] Sir W. C. Harris, *op. cit.*, ii. 225.

[2] W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People* (1872), p. 281.

[3] J. Piprek, *Slawische Brautwerbungs- und Hochzeitsgebräuche* (1914), p. 64.

[4] Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iii. 42.

[5] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* 1871), i. 212.

arrive at proxies in the marriage rite. Amongst the Karens it is the sponsors of the pair who offer the cup to each other, the drinking out of which forms the ceremony.[1] In Persia marriage by proxy is the rule, and the groom never sees his wife till he has consummated the marriage.[2] An interesting parallel is found in Cingalese custom. An astrologer has to decide if the horoscopes of the suitor and the girl suit each other. Once when the bridegroom's horoscope was not suitable, he produced that of his infant brother, which was satisfactory. This child personated the groom and was married to the bride.[3] The bride and bridegroom in South Celebes have each a representative, *doêta;* if the bride's representative is a man, that of the groom is a woman, and *vice versâ*. The bride does not appear at the wedding; she is represented by her deputy, and is herself secluded in an inner room. After the ceremony, at which the bride is not present, the bridegroom may not see her yet, but goes home, leaving his sword as his representative. After being separated from his bride for three days, he returns to take his sword; he gets it back by giving a present.[4]

The interesting custom by which one of the pair, or both, are married to trees, is a good instance of the primitive fashion of make-believe, by which an effigy does duty for a person, all risks being thus obviated. Amongst the Mundas, after a mimic fight for the bride,

[1] A. R. Macmahon, *The Karens of the Golden Chersonese* (1876), p. 322.

[2] Sir J. Chardin, "Travels . . . by Way of the Black Sea," *in* J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1808-1814), ix. 154.

[3] J. Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon* (1840), i. 328.

[4] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), pp. 22, 27, 29-30. [Cp. on this subject F. L. Critchlow, *On the Forms of Betrothal and Wedding Ceremonies in the Old-French Romans d'Aventure* (1903), p. 16; A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* (1889), i. 618-621.]

the pair are anointed with turmeric and wedded to two trees, the bride to a *mahwa*, the groom to a mango, or both to mangoes. They touch the tree with *sindur*, clasp it, and then are tied to it. Subsequently he touches her forehead with *sindur*.[1] This case brings out the point that the mock ceremony is intended to ensure the harmlessness or success of the real ceremony. [M. van Gennep is of the opinion that tree-marriage is rather "a rite of initiation into the totemic clan, woven into the marriage ceremonies."[2] This was also at one time Sir James Frazer's view,[3] who, however, very characteristically abandoned it when he found that there is no evidence to support it.[4] M. van Gennep is himself able to adduce only one case which could bear his interpretation, that of the Munda Kol.[5] Mr Crooke, who collected some evidence on this point, wrote, in harmony with the suggestion made here, that this ceremony "seems to point to the fact that the marriage may be intended to divert to the tree some evil influence, which would otherwise attach to the wedded pair."[6] Elsewhere, however, Mr Crooke explained this practice as a fertility rite,[7] but the evidence he adduces points much more clearly to the former theory, and the view of this custom as a fertility rite can hardly be reconciled with the fact that, as we shall see, the marriage frequently takes place between the bride or bridegroom on the one hand and an inanimate object, such as a sword or a pitcher, on the other. But it must be allowed that the

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), p. 194.

[2] A. von Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 190.

[3] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), i. 32.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 210.

[5] F. Hahn, *Einführung in das Gebiet der Kolsmission* (1907), p. 159.

[6] W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (1896), ii. 120.

[7] *Id.*, "The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills," *J.A.I.* (1899), xxviii. 242.

practice is sometimes susceptible of a more prosaic explanation than yet mentioned. Among the Kedara Kumbis or Pātidārs it is the custom for a girl to marry only once in twelve years. Accordingly if she is still unmarried by her twelfth year, she is unable to marry until she reaches her twenty-fourth birthday. To overcome this difficulty she is married to a bunch of flowers, which is subsequently thrown into a well. The girl is thus made a widow and free to marry at any time.[1] Again, in the Punjab a Hindu, though he is allowed to marry a fourth time, is not permitted to do so a third time. Should he nevertheless wish to do so he first marries a Babul tree or an Akh plant, so that the lady he subsequently marries safely becomes his fourth wife.[2] No explanation but the peculiar fertility of the human mind in the invention of subterfuges is required for these cases.]

Amongst the Kumis the bridegroom is first married to a mango tree. He embraces it, and is tied to it with thread, and daubs it with red lead. The bride also is wedded to a mango. She is brought to her home in a basket, and the groom is carried thither on a platform supported by men.[3] It is a Hindu custom, when misfortune in marriage is foretold by the astrologers, for the person concerned to be first married to an earthen vessel.[4]

[1] B. A. Gupte, *A Prabhu Marriage: Customary and Religious Ceremonies* (1911), p. 71.

[2] W. Crooke, *op. cit.*, ii. 115; W. G. F. Haslett, in *Panjab Notes and Queries* (1884-1885), ii. 42, *note* 252; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (1906), p. 44; *Census of India: Report* (1911), v. 323-324, xiv. 283-284; *id.*, *Ethnographic Appendices*, i. 155; Sir D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (1883), p. 155; W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos* (1817-1820), i. 134, ii. 247.

[3] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[4] E. T. Atkinson, "Notes on the history of Religion in the Himalaya of the N.W. Provinces," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1884), LIII. i. i. 100.

In the so-called child marriage of the Nayars of Travancore a sword may represent the bridegroom.[1] At Malay marriages the ceremony is actually performed with the bridegroom alone. The priest says to him, "I wed you, A, to B, daughter of C, for a portion of two *bharas*."[2] This instance may serve to show the marriage rite developing into a civil act.

The next class of marriage ceremonies includes various kinds of abstinence. Bride and bridegroom must maintain silence for a certain period. This is a common taboo upon persons passing through a critical period, and the principle behind it is a natural impulse of egoistic sensibility, a sort of recognition of the importance of the occasion, combined with more or less of spiritual fear, either of general danger, or in this case, of danger from each other. It is dangerous to speak to dangerous persons, and the principle here combines with sexual shyness. Some such practice is doubtless responsible for the Greek name of the wedding-might, *νὺξ μυστική*. The bride and bridegroom amongst the Andamanese are introduced to each other, after sitting apart in silence for some time. They then remain silent until the evening. Often the pair pass several days after marriage without exchanging a single word, and even avoid looking at one another. "One might suppose they had had a serious quarrel."[3] In Korea the bride is expected to keep absolute silence on the wedding-day and in the nuptial chamber.[4] [In Morocco sometimes

[1] S. Mateer, "Nepotism in Travancore," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 293.

[2] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 382.

[3] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 138.

[4] W. E. Griffis, *Corea* (1882), p. 247.

the bride, sometimes the bridegroom, sometimes both, must refrain from speaking at the wedding, or at best whisper.[1] Similar customs are found in Europe; a single typical example will suffice. The following is reported of Armenian brides: "Young girls go unveiled, bareheaded, wherever they please, the young men may woo them openly, and marriages founded on affection are common. But it is different with the young wife. The 'Yes' before the bridal altar is for a time the last word she is heard to speak! From that time on she appears everywhere, even in the house, deeply veiled, especially with the lower part of the face, the mouth, quite hidden, even the eyes behind the veil. No one sees her in the street, even to church she goes only twice a year, at Easter and Christmas, under a deep veil; if a stranger enters the house or the garden, she hides herself immediately. With no one may she speak even one word, not with her own father and brother! She speaks only with her husband, when she is alone with him! With all other persons in the house she may communicate only by pantomime. In this dumbness, which is enjoined by custom, she persists till she has given birth to her first child. From that time on she is again gradually emancipated; she speaks with the new-born child, then her husband's mother is the first person with whom she talks; after some time she may speak with her own mother; then the turn comes for her husband's sister, and then also for her own sisters. Next she begins to converse with the young girls of the house, but all very softly in whispers, that none of the men may hear! Only after six or more years is she fully emancipated and her education complete. Nevertheless

[1] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914), pp. 129, 244; *id.*, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 546.

it is not proper that she should ever speak with strange men, or that they should see her unveiled."][1]

Again, the bridal pair must keep awake, for the same reasons of sexual taboo. In New Guinea after the ceremony bride and bridegroom sit up all night. If sleep threatens they are at once aroused; the belief being that by remaining awake they will have a happy life. This goes on for four nights. Not until the fifth day may they meet each other alone, but even then only by night, and for four days more the husband must leave his wife's chamber before daybreak.[2] Amongst the Sumatrans the pair sit up all night in state.[3] The young pair in Borneo may not go to sleep, "else evil spirits would make them ill."[4] [The Buginese groom must not go to sleep during the night before the wedding.[5] In ancient India the married pair were kept awake on their wedding night by the telling of stories.[6] In modern India, at a Brahman wedding, it is the special duty of several young girls to keep the wedded pair awake.][7]

The pair are frequently obliged to fast, with the object of preventing evil influences entering the system by means of food. Thus amongst the Wa-teita the bride and groom are shut up for three days without food.[8] The young Macusi bridegroom-elect fasts from meat for

[1] A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (1856), i. 200-201, *quoted by* Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iv. 234.

[2] F. H. H. Guillemard, *The Cruise of the "Marchesa" to Kamschatka and New Guinea* (1889), ii. 287.

[3] W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (1811), p. 269.

[4] M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks* (1870), p. 53.

[5] R. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien* (1904), p. 429.

[6] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1894), p. 411.

[7] R. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 370. See also E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 546-547; E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (1911), p. 131.

[8] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 57.

some time before marriage.[1] Amongst the Thlinkeets the pair are required to fast for two days, "in order to ensure domestic concord and happiness." At the expiration of that time they are allowed to partake of a little food, when a second fast of two days is added, after which they are allowed to come together for the first time.[2] Here is seen the curious association between commensal and sexual intercourse, which derives from the biological connection between the nutritive and sexual impulses, and is often expressed in physiological thought.

A very frequent rule is that the consummation of the marriage is deferred for a time. This points to the dangers already reviewed[3] of this close physical connection, in which, as in eating together, the ideas of sexual taboo are concentrated, and illustrates a principle which runs through all these practices of abstinence, as from sleep and eating, and which is seen in all similar taboos, that a temporary self-denial of a dangerous satisfaction will obviate the risks of its ordinary fulfilment. There is also later developed the idea that sexual intercourse, as such, is improper. [Baron von Reitzenstein[4] and Sir James Frazer[5] have explained the practice of continence after marriage as due to a desire on the part of the bridegroom to leave the field clear for the demons who might wish to enjoy the first-fruits of the new wife. But Dr Westermarck has well shown this theory to be

[1] Sir E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (1883), p. 222.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), i. 111. See also E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii. 544-545.

[3] [Above, Chapters VIII, IX.]

[4] F. von Reitzenstein, "Der kausalzusammenhang zwischen Geschlechtsverkehr und Empfängnis in Glaube und Brauch der Natur- und Kulturvölker," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1909), xli. 656, 661, 676.

[5] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (1918), i. 520.

unsupported by the evidence.[1] M. van Gennep explains the custom as the result of a desire to remain "pure" on the part of one about to enter the "sacred world" of marriage;[2] but, even if it were possible to assume the existence of such subtle feelings in savage psychology, M. van Gennep's theory can only be accepted by extending arbitrarily what he calls the marginal period, that is, the liminary period of transition from one state to another.

The result of continence for a period after marriage is attained in divers ways, which we may well consider together.] The Southern Slav bridegroom has a *djever*, "bride carrier," who sleeps during the first night beside the bride, the bridegroom not being allowed to sleep with her for two nights.[3] In Persia the husband does not consummate the marriage for several days.[4] For three days after a wedding in the Kei Islands an old woman sleeps between the pair; sometimes a child is used for this.[5] In Luzon the pair sleep on the first night with a space of two ells between them, in which lies a boy, six or eight years old.[6] This deputing of certain persons to keep the couple apart is also found elsewhere. After the mock flight and pursuit in the bridal chamber, the South Celebes couple are attended during the night by women called "bridesmothers," who

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 562-563.

[2] A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 242. M. van Gennep adds (p. 242 *n.*) the following not uninteresting note: "Je crois inutile de discuter toutes les théories antérieures de Crawley, Frazer, etc. . . ."

[3] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (1885), p. 608.

[4] Sir J. Chardin, "Travels . . . by Way of the Black Sea," *in* J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1808-1814), ix. 154.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 236.

[6] F. Blumentritt, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* (1882), p. 38.

prevent all intimacy between them.[1] In Achin the young couple may not come together for seven nights, and they are kept awake by old women.[2] In the Babar Islands the pair during the first few nights sleep in the same room, but the bride sleeps with some female relatives and the bridegroom with some male relatives.[3] In Endeh for four nights old women sit up with the pair to prevent them from approaching each other.[4] In the Frazer Island tribe of Queensland they do not come together for nearly two months after marriage.[5] [Amongst the Warramunga they have to abstain for three days from sexual intercourse.][6] Amongst the Dyaks the pair may not come together for two or three nights and days. The groom feasts with his friends, and the bride is with her mother and female relatives.[7] Amongst the Nufoers the marriage is not consummated until the fifth day ; on the first night the married couple are set back to back, so as not to see each other. This is repeated each night. When he leaves her on each of these mornings, they must not see each other, "a sign of her maiden shame."[8] Amongst the Soendanese the bridegroom has no access to his bride for four days. She will not look at him or speak to him.[9] Amongst the Madoerese the marriage is not consummated until

[1] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), p. 35.

[2] J. A. Kruijt, *Atjeh en de Atjehers* (1877), p. 193.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[4] S. Roos, "Iets over Endeh," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1877), xxiv. 525.

[5] R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878), i. 84.

[6] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), p. 135.

[7] M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks* (1870), p. 53.

[8] J. B. von Hasselt, "Die Nveforezen [*sic* for Noeforezen]," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1876), viii. 181 *et seq.*

[9] W. L. Ritter, *Java* (1855), p. 29.

the third night.[1] [Indeed, in Java generally the consummation of a marriage does not follow immediately upon its celebration.][2] The Chinese have a practice of putting a charm sword, made of "cash" on the bridal bed,[3] perhaps for the same purpose as Sigurd placed his sword between himself and Brynhild. Amongst the Nahuas in the feasting, drinking and dancing, the bride and groom took no part; they now had four days fasting and penance, in the strict retirement of their own room, where they were closely guarded by old women. On no account might they leave the room. The time was to be passed in prayer, "and on no account were they to allow their passions to get the better of them or indulge in carnal intercourse."[4] Amongst the Mayas the pair had to remain quite still until the fire burnt out, and not until then could they consummate the marriage.[5] The Thlinkeet bridegroom could not claim his marital rights until four weeks after marriage.[6] Amongst the Nootkas no intercourse may take place between the pair for ten days.[7] [The Caribs of Cuba were strictly prohibited from intercourse with their wives on the first night after the wedding.[8] The same rule applied in distant Cochin.][9] In Egypt it is customary for husbands to deny themselves their conjugal rights during the first

[1] P. J. Veth, *Java* (1886-1907), i. 635.

[2] A. Marre, *Java: Code des successions et des mariages en usage à Java* (1874), pp. 35-36.

[3] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), ii. 313.

[4] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), ii. 261.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii. 676. [6] *Ibid.*, i. 111. [7] *Ibid.*, i. 198.

[8] F. Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales* (1722), i. 10; [G. R. Carli], *Le lettere Americane* (1781-1782), i. 71.

[9] Sir W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Æthiopia* (1844), i. 297, who supposes the custom to have been introduced by Brahmans.

week [or longer] after marriage with a virgin bride,[1] [and the same appears to be true of the Muslim world in general.[2] It appears to have been the case in Biblical times, and it certainly was so later, that a virgin was entitled to claim a delay of a year before a marriage was consummated; and it is interesting to note in connection with these customs in which the virginity of the bride is specifically mentioned, that is, when she is still fully dangerous, that the delay for a widow was only thirty days.[3] The union became legal long before the actual consummation took place.][4] In these last cases we see the consideration produced by the actual intensity of maidenly feelings, which is the usual psychological phenomenon at the first union; sexual taboo regards this as an especial property of woman, and combines with it the other idea that first contact with a virgin is more dangerous than with other women. This latter point is well brought out in the next group of customs.

Before proceeding to these we may notice an excellent example of the way in which these principles develop religious abstinence as a meritorious act. There is a story in the Syriac *Judas Thomas's Acts* of a bride and bridegroom who were converted by an apparition of the Lord in the bridal chamber, and who in consequence passed the night in continence. Next morning the king,

[1] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), ii. 273.

[2] Abd el-Fattah el-Sayed, *De l'étendu des droits de la femme dans le mariage musulman et particulièrement en Égypte* (1922), p. 31.

[3] Mishnah: Nashim: Cthuboth, v. 2. Cp. I. M. Rabbinowicz, *Législation civile du Thalmud* (1880), i. 184; A. Faure, *Le mariage en Judée et en Egypte* (1897), p. 22.

[4] A. Faure, *op. cit.*, p. 27. See also J. Neubauer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des biblisch-talmudischen Eheschliessungsrecht* (1920).

the bride's father, came in and found them sitting, the one opposite the other; and the face of the bride was uncovered, and the bridegroom was very cheerful. "The mother of the bride saith to her: 'Why art thou sitting thus and art not ashamed, but art as if, lo! thou wert married a long time and for many a day?'" And her father too said, "Is it thy great love for thy husband that prevents thee from even veiling thyself?" And the bride answered and said, "Truly, my father, I am in great love, and am praying to my Lord that I may continue in this love which I have experienced this night. I am not veiled because the veil of corruption is taken from me, and I am not ashamed because the deed of shame has been removed far from me."[1] Sexual intercourse, summing up as it does in primitive thought all the dangers of sexual taboo, especially the dangers of weakness and of effeminacy, produced by contagion from women and by loss of strength (both of body and of soul) on the part of the man by emission, is rendered more safe by certain ceremonies, the meaning of which is very obvious, though enquirers have curiously missed it. These ceremonies are not to be confused with the so-called *jus primæ noctis*, which has occurred sporadically in history, though mis-termed. That practice is simply a barbarous sort of assertion of despotic authority of the patriarchal sort, appearing for instance in feudal and similar stages of society. With it these customs have nothing to do.

This marriage ceremony consists in perforation of the *hymen* by some appointed person other than the husband; it is most common in the lowest stages of culture, especially in Australia. Tribes which have this rite are

[1] *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, ed. by W. Wright (1871), ii. 156 *et seq.* For the idea that coition in marriage is sinful see *ibid.*, ii. 122, 155, 191, 223, 233-234.

commonly said to practice no marriage ceremony. This statement is of course erroneous ; to primitive thought this ceremony is a very real marriage rite. The best examples come from the Arunta and connected tribes of Central Australia, and have been well described by Messrs Spencer and Gillen.[1] The ceremony, rude and practical as it may seem, is nevertheless sacred and even religious, as is shown by the facts that the natives regard it as a ceremony, and that the operators are painted with charcoal, a sacred custom followed in magical rites, and especially when an avenging party is being sent out. Sixteen tribes of Central Australia have this ceremony. When a girl arrives at puberty she is, owing to the convenient classificatory system, already marked out as the potential wife of the men of the proper complementary division, and has been, or is then, allotted to a particular suitor. The ceremony is performed by persons who vary according to the tribe ; sometimes it is done by a sister ; the important point is that the prospective husband never undertakes it. The *hymen* is artificially perforated, and then the assisting men have access (ceremonial, be it observed) to the girl in a stated order, and in some tribes it is men of a division which has no intermarriage with the girl's division, who have this access. The object of the custom is clearly to remove the danger of sexual intercourse for the husband, and perhaps also for the wife, by a ceremonial previous rehearsal of it. The danger partly coincides, as we have seen,[2] with the apparent physical impediment to intercourse. The act is in two parts, perforation and intercourse. The men who

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 93 *et seq.* [Cp. *id.*, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), p. 135.]

[2] [Above, i. 168-172.]

have access do not possess the right as an "expiation" for individual marriage, or anything like it; it is a religious act, and altruistic at that; it is not done as a reminder that they, as "communal" or "group-husbands," have really as much right to the woman as her husband has; the mere fact that men of forbidden groups sometimes have access proves this. It is simply a removal by proxy of the danger, and the rite may be classed with other proxy-marriages.

The next point to be observed has been already referred to,[1] namely, that here initiation and marriage are one.[2] This economy shows that initiation ceremonies of this kind are marriages to the other sex in abstract, and is itself due to the convenience of the classification, which decides what persons are marriageable to each other. Amongst the Wataveta the bridegroom seizes his bride by force; in this he is aided by four friends, who have access to her during the five days' festivities of the wedding.[3] Amongst the Wa-teita she hides, and the groom with four friends catch her. The four friends have intercourse with her.[4] This last fact has been used as a proof of primitive promiscuity and the like. It is nothing of the kind. Comparing it with the Central

[1] [Above, ii. 25.]

[2] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 93. [Dr Hartland, "Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta," in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (1907), p. 201, writes on this point that "defloration at puberty, whether natural or artificial is undoubtedly (whatever else it may be) a formal introduction to sexual life. Such introduction might be the more authoritative if given by one (or more) with whom sexual relations would not in future be sustained. It is a ritual act. Ritual acts are acts out of the ordinary course—often clean contrary to the ordinary course. Therein consists their essence, their virtue."]

[3] Mrs French-Sheldon, "Customs among the Natives of East Africa," *J.A.I.* (1892), xxi. 365.

[4] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 51.

Australian custom, we see in it the same service, which is the last act of subjugation as it were, the last detail in the preparation of the bride for her husband. It may, and doubtless does, develop into a kind of reward given on the part of the husband to the friends who have assisted him, but such a development is quite secondary. The Kurnai suitor was assisted by some friends, who had intercourse with the bride.[1] This religious service is often performed by such persons in Australian tribes. An important preliminary of marriage amongst the Masai is the performance of this operation on the girl.[2]

This defloration of the bride is performed by the father amongst the Sakais, the Battas and the Alfoers of Celebes.[3] [Amongst the Todas, shortly before puberty "a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division[4] and to any class, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time."][5] In the Philippines there were certain men whose profession it was to deflower brides, in case the *hymen* had not been ruptured in childhood by an old woman who

[1] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 202.

[2] J. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[3] H. H. Ploss-M. Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde* (1905), i. 691.

[4] [The Todas are divided into two divisions.]

[5] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (1906), p. 503.

was sometimes employed for this.[1] Among many peoples the defloration of the bride was entrusted to the priest. The idea sometimes develops into a belief that the contact of a holy person renders marital contact safe, or that it will ensure fertility. [A typical example is that of the Greenlanders among whom men paid the *angekok*, or priest, to have connection with their wives, since the child of such a holy man was bound to be better than others.[2]

It will be convenient at this point to consider the bearing of the Freudian theories on the facts just presented and on the interpretation suggested for them, for it happens that Dr Freud has formulated his views on this question of the defloration of the bride, artificially or by proxy, with the clearness which distinguishes his own writings from those of his disciples. Just as there was, and hardly is, no good Darwinian but Darwin, so Dr Freud is the only sound Freudian; accordingly I will not simplify my task by criticising these theories as they have been presented by Dr Freud's followers, but will go direct to the source.[3]

After quoting certain of the cases described above, Dr Freud observes that "it is unfortunate that in these accounts a closer distinction is not drawn between mere

[1] [J. Mallat, *Les Philippines* (1846), i. 61; A. de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China at the close of the Sixteenth Century* (1868), pp. 304-305.]

[2] H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland* (1818), p. 140. Cp. E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), i. 166 *et seq.*, 191 *et seq.*

[3] A recent exposition of psycho-analytic theories on sexual relations in general is J. G. Flügel, *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family* (1921); and criticisms have been made by Dr Malinowski, "Complex and Myth in Mother-right," *Psyche* (1925), v. 194-216; *id.*, "Psycho-analysis and Anthropology," *Psyche* (1924), iv. 293-332. See also G. Róheim, *Australian Totemism: a Psycho-analytic Study in Anthropology* (1925).

rupture of the hymen without coitus and coitus for the purpose of rupturing the hymen."[1] Dr Freud does not state why such a distinction should be drawn, and, while not denying that such a distinction may be of value in certain respects, it does not affect the point at issue, namely, the defloration of a virgin bride artificially or by one who is not her husband. In any case Mr Crawley was clearly aware of this distinction, for he writes that amongst the Australians the ceremony "is in two parts, perforation and intercourse."[2] Dr Freud then proceeds to a further criticism, remarking, " . . . one would like to hear more about the difference between the 'ceremonial' (purely formal, ritual, official) coitus performed on these occasions and ordinary sexual intercourse."[3] If this implies that the defloration by the proxy may be formal in the sense that an actual rupture of the *hymen* does not occur, there does not appear to be any evidence for such a supposition, while we do often hear of intercourse taking place after the defloration between the bride and, for instance, the bridegroom's friends. One can only echo Dr Freud's observation: "The writers of such works as I could obtain were either too much ashamed to mention such things or else they again underestimated the psychological importance of these sexual details."[4]

Dr Freud then surveys various theories that have been put forward in explanation of this "taboo of virginity." The theories of Mr Crawley, Dr Freud finds to be set out "in terms that are hardly distinguishable from those employed by psycho-analysis."[5] He overlooks, however, the fact that to the general theory of preliminary defloration as the removal of the danger

[1] S. Freud, "The Taboo of Virginity," in *Collected Papers* (1924-1925), iv. 220.
[2] Above, ii. 67.
[3] S. Freud, *op. cit.*, iv. 221.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 221.
[5] *Ibid.*, iv. 224.

to man residing in sexual intercourse, there is added the secondary cause of the rite not merely as an act of defloration, but as one of initiation. Accordingly Dr Freud writes that the "universal taboo of women [which he admits] throws no light on special regulations for the first sexual act with a virgin."[1] Before proceeding to discuss Dr Freud's own views, I would point out that in the defloration of a virgin the fear that comes into play is not merely that of woman in general, but also the fear of the shedding of blood, the fear of newness, and, what is probably to be distinguished, the fear of passing a threshold, not to speak of lesser fears. It is because all these different branches of one deep-rooted psychological fact centre in marriage, that this offers the most complex, and interesting, of all social studies. It thus becomes clear that Dr Freud's refutation of our views is more facile than serious.

By an abrupt transition Dr Freud a few lines further on explains that the "primitive" does not separate physical danger from psychical and that "he has the habit of projecting his own inner feelings of hostility on to the outside world," that is, to ascribe hostile feelings to whatever he does not understand or that he dislikes. "Now woman is also looked upon as a source of such dangers, and the first sexual act with a woman stands out as a specially perilous one."[2] Dr Freud thus after all agrees with the view here put forward that man's fear of woman is due in part to the fact that man does not understand her. He goes on to say that man, whether savage or civilised, is right in supposing that a special danger accompanies defloration, though that danger is purely psychical and not physical, as the savage sometimes

[1] S. Freud, *op. cit.*, iv. 225. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 226.

supposes, and the nature of this danger we are now invited to have analysed for us. Dr Freud reminds us of those pathological cases (and, I would add, not a few comparatively normal ones) in which "after the first act of intercourse—and indeed, after renewed act—openly express their enmity against the man by reviling him, threatening to strike him or even actually striking him."[1] Another manifestation of the animosity which Dr Freud holds is brought down on the person who performs the first act of coition, is the very common frigidity shown by the young wife. But what is the cause of this animosity? Dr Freud puts forward several such causes. First there is the pain involved in the rupture of the *hymen;* but this Dr Freud himself shows to be no cause because of the fact among certain peoples that after the actual defloration with the hand or with an instrument, the new wife must still have intercourse with a proxy before she goes to her husband. In the place of the pain, Dr Freud accordingly sets "the narcissistic wound which follows the destruction of an organ, and which even finds rationalised expression in the realisation of a diminished sexual value after virginity is lost."[2] The injury to *amour propre* (to avoid technicalities) does not appear to be a true cause, and for the same reason, that intercourse with a proxy sometimes follows artificial defloration. For if the animosity alleged to be thus created is directed against the instrument or the person performing the artificial rupture, what reason is there for interposing a further person between bride and bridegroom? As for Dr Freud's suggestion that animosity may be partly due to a realisation of a depreciated sexual value, I consider this to be an important addition to the subject; for if, as is

[1] S. Freud, *op. cit.*, iv. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 228.

now generally agreed, savage man has the same preference as the average civilised man for virginity in women, this result in feminine psychology would seem to be inevitable. Nevertheless, this cannot be regarded as an explanation of the present point, and again for the same reason ; for why should the animosity be twice deflected?

Dr Freud's next suggested ground for the animosity resulting from the first sexual act is its failure to fulfil expectations roused to a high pitch by a prolonged and severe prohibition. Although Dr Freud himself feels unable to lay much stress on it because it seems to him that it "lacks sufficient connection with primitive states of culture,"[1] I believe this to be a true cause. For a defloration ceremony (except when it occurs at puberty, which is not the general rule), could only be necessary among peoples in which a bride is still a virgin, that is, in which pre-nuptial unchastity is forbidden, and in which expectation can therefore hardly fail to be exaggerated, or at least present.

We come at last to the two factors to which Dr Freud attaches the most importance. The one is the Electra-complex or father-fixation, according to which the husband is unsatisfactory because he does not correspond to the father, or, in his place, the brother. Dr Freud considers that "primitive custom appears to accord some recognition to the existence of the early sexual wish by assigning the duty of defloration to an elder, a priest, or a holy man, that is, to a father-substitute."[2] And the same applies to the divine "father-surrogates." The other Freudian theory is one "reaching down into yet deeper strata"; it is that part of the castration-complex known as "penis-envy,"

[1] S. Freud, *op. cit.*, iv. 229. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 230.

namely, a feeling of inferiority in the girl because of her lack of something possessed by her brother and her consequent wish for it. "Now, upon this penis-envy follows that hostile embitterment displayed by women against men, never entirely absent in the relations of the sexes. . . ."[1]

It will be observed that these two Freudian doctrines take for granted the existence of certain psychological phenomena: the Electra-complex, elders, priests and gods as father-surrogates, the castration-complex and penis-envy. Thus, in order to show fully why I cannot accept either of these theories, it would be necessary to devote many pages to a discussion of these assumptions in the light of ethnological facts; this would take us too far from our present purpose, and I must, therefore, content myself with the following brief comments. To consider priests and the like as father-surrogates I regard as unnecessary, since the duty or privilege of defloration accorded to them is sufficiently explained by the principle of neutralisation of taboo; that is, a king or a priest, himself permanently taboo or beyond the reach of taboo, can have nothing to fear from dangers which seem dreadful enough to the ordinary savage to prevent him from enjoying the first-fruits of his wife. Nor is the general custom of causing a stranger to perform the defloration susceptible to Dr Freud's explanation. The penis-wish must be acknowledged to be a psychological fact, not in the Freudian sense, but rather in that which Dr Freud himself touches upon in describing a case which came under his notice. His patient had a dream which "betrayed unmistakably the wish to castrate the young husband and

[1] S. Freud, *op. cit.*, iv. 231.

to keep his penis for herself." But to be sure, proceeds Dr Freud, there was room "for the harmless interpretation that it was prolongation and repetition of the act that she wanted; unfortunately, however, some details of the dream overstepped this possibility. . . ."[1] As we are not given these details it is not possible to form an opinion regarding them, but for my own part I am inclined to think an abnormal or exaggerated penis-wish to be in all probability the result of an abnormal or exaggerated wish for the "prolongation and repetition" of the sexual act, a wish that may as reasonably be looked for in a savage woman as in a civilised one. Accordingly I can see no reason for associating defloration by proxy with envy of the brother's penis, which Dr Freud believes to play the most prominent part in the practice.

In conclusion of this Freudian excursus, it may be said that Dr Freud considers the act of defloration by proxy to be the result (to express the matter in highly rationalised terms) of a desire on the part of the woman to liberate or neutralise her animosity against the man who takes her virginity from her by causing another than her husband to perform this duty.[2] This conclusion, so far as present knowledge enables us to form an opinion, appears to be substantially true, though we differ from Dr Freud in analysing the animosity or fear which it is desired to circumvent.][3]

There is next a large class of marriage customs which in the first place bring out very clearly sexual solidarity; the women, as it were, make marriage an opportunity

[1] S. Freud, *op. cit.*, iv. 231. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 234.

[3] Dr Freud has stated his general views in *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* (1918), and their relation to ethnology in *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics* (1919).

for showing their mutual sympathy with each other as women, and they take the side of the bride in her bashfulness or resistance, as if the occasion were a test case between the two sexes, as indeed it is. We have seen[1] the same sort of thing in connection with birth, and have noticed[2] how the women cling together at marriage till the last moment. These phenomena also show how marriage ceremonies have inherent in them, as binding the pair together, or neutralising each other's dangerous influence, the intention and power to make their life harmonious and sympathetic. In the second place, these customs are one of the best guides to the ideas of sexual taboo in their relation to marriage ritual. We here see one of the chief factors of sexual taboo, woman's shyness, timidity and modesty, accentuated by the physiological sensibility which resists physical subjugation, chiefly in connection with the act of intercourse, but appearing more or less throughout all the proceedings. It is an instance of the taboo of personal isolation. The phenomena all lead up, by the way, to the correct understanding of so-called marriage by capture. There is also to be noted the diffidence characteristic of both sexes upon entering a new and strange state, a diffidence psychologically identical with that produced on other similar and taboo occasions.

Hence the common practice of carrying bride or groom or both;[3] amongst the Kumis the groom is carried to the bride's house on men's shoulders.[4] In Egypt it is considered right that the groom as well as the bride should exhibit some bashfulness, and a friend

[1] [Above, i. 72-73, 99, 242.] [2] [Above, ii. 48-49.]

[3] [Cp. E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 535 *et seq.*]

[4] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), p. 319.

therefore carries him up to the *hareem*.[1] In Honduras[2] and amongst the Miaos,[3] the bride was conveyed to her husband on a man's shoulders. In Guatemala and Salvador the pair were carried by their friends to their new house, and shut in a room.[4] The Nahua bride was borne upon a litter or on the back of a brideswoman or sponsor.[5] In civilised societies a brougham is used on what is really the same principle, an especial arrangement for an especial purpose, in which convenience combines with ceremonial. There is no survival, in these cases, of "marriage by capture," though they sometimes of course coincide with the desire to checkmate female resistance, as they have been found to coincide with a prevention of results from bashfulness, both of these feelings being part of the foundations of taboo. [As Dr Marett has well expressed it, "the emotion we ourselves experience in taking a decisive step, in crossing a Rubicon, may afford us an inkling of the motive that prompts a ceremonial passage across the limit that marks off from the profane outer world the temple precincts or the scarcely less sacred home."][6]

The innate tendency to what may be called polar or complementary opposition between the sexes is well brought out in a Kurnai practice. If the men were backward in marrying, the girls would kill some of the *yeerung*, the birds that were the sex-totems of the men. This led to a fight with sticks between the two sexes.

[1] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 214.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Race of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), i. 730.

[3] A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê* (1883), p. 383.

[4] H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i. 703. [5] *Ibid.*, ii. 255.

[6] R. R. Marett, *Psychology and Folk-Lore* (1920), p. 137. Cp. A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 187.

Next day the young men killed some *djeetgun*, the sex-totems of the women; a second fight was the result. The ultimate issue was a marriage or two.[1] Fighting makes friends sometimes amongst savages as amongst modern boys. At betrothal amongst the Kamchadales when the man takes hold of the girl, the married women ceremonially beat him.[2] Amongst the Mosquitos the bridegroom has to charge into a circle of women who surround the bride; "he shoulders her like a sack and trots off for the mystic circle (of men), into which the women may not enter, and reaches it, urged on by the frantic cries of the women, before the crowd can rescue her."[3] This may be called capture, but it is capture from the female sex. The Makuana suitor has to throw the girl in a wrestling bout in order to secure her hand. Also the father and mother give him a few ceremonial blows with a stick, "as if to assure themselves that he sincerely loves their daughter."[4] [On the wedding day among the Roro of British New Guinea a party of the bridegroom's male friends carry the house of the bride's parents by mimic assault. "The bride rushes out and runs away as fast as she can, and although she is soon overtaken and caught, she defends herself to the best of her ability, with hands, feet and teeth. Meanwhile a sham fight rages between the adherents of the bride and bridegroom. In the midst of the commotion is the bride's mother armed with a wooden club or digging stick, striking at every inanimate object within reach and

[1] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 201.

[2] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie* (1776), p. 89.

[3] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), i. 733.

[4] T. Arbousset *and* F. Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (1846), p. 249.

shouting curses on the ravishers of her daughter. Finding this useless, she collapses, weeping for the loss of her child. The other women of the village join in the weeping. The girl's mother should keep up the appearance of extravagant grief for three days, and she alone of the girl's relations does not accompany the bride to her father-in-law's house . . . a mock-pillage of houses and gardens of the boy's local group also takes place, though it is clear that no expensive shell ornaments or other really valuable property such as fishing nets, would be taken."][1] The Wakamba groom, after paying the bride price, has to carry off the bride by force, the parents not surrendering her without a struggle.[2]

Of the same origin is the common practice of abusive language at weddings. Amongst the Kaffirs the bride insults the groom, showing thereby that the moment of her submission has not yet come.[3] In the Punjab it is a general custom for the relatives of the bride to hurl abusive epithets at the bridegroom.[4] This has actually been supposed to be a relic of "marriage by capture." The *Fescennina locutio* is a case in point. In many instances, of course, as in European folk-custom, the abuse is directed against the evil eye and possible external danger to the young couple.

We have noticed the impulse in animals and mankind to guard the sexual centres against the undesired advances of the male. "This is carried on into desire, and female animals are known to run after the male and then turn to flee, perhaps only submitting with much

[1] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (1910), pp. 268-269.

[2] J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa* (1860), p. 354.

[3] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 74.

[4] Máyá Dás, in *Panjab Notes and Queries* (1884-1885), ii. 184, *note* 976.

persuasion. Modesty thus becomes an invitation. The naturally defensive attitude of the female is in contrast with the naturally aggressive attitude of the male in sexual relationships." [1] Such maiden coyness or physiological shrinking, as has been explained before,[2] is accentuated at marriage, especially in connection with the act of union. Amongst the Bedouins the bride cries loudly while the marriage is being consummated.[3] In Sumatra when the young couple are left together, custom demands that she shall defend herself; the struggle often lasts some days.[4] "Husbands have told me of brides who sob and tremble with fright on the wedding-night, the hysteria being sometimes alarming. E. aged twenty-five, refused her husband for six weeks after marriage, exhibiting the greatest fear of his approach. Ignorance of the nature of the sexual connection is often the cause of exaggerated alarm. In Jersey, I used to hear of a bride who ran to the window and screamed 'murder,' on the wedding-night." [5] Now in primitive thought this characteristic has to be neutralised, and it is done by a ceremonial use of force, which is half real and half make-believe. General cases of force used in connubial capture, so-called, will illustrate this, as of course the violence there used has the same meaning, though generalised.

We return, therefore, to more general developments of bashfulness and timidity as against the other sex, leading up to acts of mock half-real violence. Aelian states of the Sacae that the bridegroom had to do battle

[1] H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1910), i. 39.

[2] [Above, i. 217-218.]

[3] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (1830), p. 266.

[4] J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1834-1835), i. 184.

[5] Communication quoted by H. H. Ellis, *op. cit.*, i. 34.

with his intended, and naïvely adds that "they do not go so far as to kill each other."[1] C. O. Müller explains the form of "capture" in ancient Sparta more correctly than do ethnologists. "It indicates," he says, "that a girl could not surrender her freedom and virgin purity unless compelled by the violence of the stronger sex."[2] In ancient Rome at plebeian marriages the groom and his friends invaded the house and carried off the bride with feigned violence from her mother's lap.[3] A century ago in Wales, "on the morning of the wedding-day the groom with his friends demanded the bride. Her friends gave a positive refusal, upon which a mock scuffle ensued. The bride, mounted beside her nearest kinsman, is carried off and is pursued by the groom and his friends with loud shouts. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, he is suffered to overtake his bride, and leads her away in triumph."[4]

The Kalmuck bridegroom, when the price is fixed, goes with some friends to carry off the bride. "A sham resistance is always made by the people of her camp, in spite of which she fails not to be borne away on a richly caparisoned horse, with loud shouts and feux de joie."[5] Amongst the Tunguzes and Kamchadales a marriage is not definitely "arranged and concluded until the suitor has got the better of his beloved by force, and has torn her clothes.[6] Amongst the Samoyeds the groom has to take his wife by force, because she resists strenuously.[7] [Amongst the Koryak, "when the bride's father has

[1] Aelian, *Varia historia*, xii. 38.

[2] C. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (1830), IV. iv. 2.

[3] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 4.

[4] Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (1813), i. 449.

[5] X. Hommaire de Hell, *Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea* (1847), p. 259.

[6] G. A. Erman, *Travels in Siberia* (1848), ii. 442.

[7] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie* (1776), p. 13.

decided that it is time to end the probation service, he tells the bridegroom that he may seize the bride, *i.e.*, marry her. . . . The mother warns the bride that the bridegroom has obtained the right to take her. Custom requires that the bride shall not surrender without a struggle, even if she loves her bridegroom. Should the bridegroom find his bride undressed in the separate sleeping-tent which she is given before marriage, he would not touch her, considering the accessibility an offence to himself. The bride's resistance is a test of her chastity. Accordingly, with aid of her friends, the bride ties up with thongs the sleeves and trousers of her combination-suit, so that it cannot be taken off without untying or cutting the thongs. On the day when the bridegroom obtains the right to seize the bride, the latter goes about thus tied up, and tries to run away when her bridegroom approaches her. The bridegroom seizes an opportunity to attack her unawares, to tear or cut the garments with a knife, and touch her sexual organs with his hand. When he has succeeded in doing so, the bride ceases to resist, and submissively leads the bridegroom to her tent." This performance makes them man and wife.][1] In Greenland two old women are sent to negotiate with the parents of the girl. The latter, on hearing the proposal, runs out of doors, tearing her hair; for single women "affect bashfulness and aversion to any proposal of marriage, though their betrothed are well assured of acquiescence." Sometimes they swoon, or run off to some deserted spot. Women go in search of the refractory maiden, and drag her forcibly to the suitor's house, where she sits for some days disconsolate and refuses nourishment. When friendly

[1] W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition* (1908), vi. 741-742.

exhortation is unavailing, she is compelled by force and even by blows to receive her husband.[1] The Fuegian suitor, as soon as he is able to maintain a wife, obtains her relative's consent, and does work for them. Then he watches for an opportunity to carry her off. If she is unwilling, she hides in the woods until her admirer is tired of looking, but this seldom happens.[2]

At Kaffir weddings the "principal idea seems to be to show the great unwillingness of the girl to be transformed into a wife." After the reception of the bride's party, the bride creeps up to the bridegroom's wives, if he has any, or to his mother, and says she has come to stay and hopes they will be good to her, otherwise she will go back to the father, mother, and relatives who were so loath to part with her. They reply that they do not know—they are not sure—they will see how she behaves herself, and so on. She then pretends to run away, but a female relative of the groom brings her back. In the evening she runs about the *kraal* with a following of girls crying after her. She is supposed to be running back to her old home, and the girls are supposed to be preventing her. Next day she *hlonipas* (hides) from the male sex, but in the afternoon she comes out with some girls, and commences the ceremony of *hlanibeesa* (literally "washing.") She takes water and throws it about the men.[3] The neutralising of evil influences from the other sex by the use of water is seen in the last detail. A Makuana suitor has to wrestle with his bride.[4] The Baca custom

[1] D. Cranz, *The History of Greenland* (1820), i. 146.

[2] R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of His Majesty's ships "Adventure" and "Beagle"* (1839), ii. 182.

[3] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), pp. 117-118, 196.

[4] T. Arbousset *and* F. Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (1846), p. 249.

is this : "A young man first tells some of his friends that he admires a certain girl, and after a certain period he speaks to her and says he would like to *twala*, *i.e.*, carry her off. If she is agreeable to this *twala*, he carries her off by stealth to his parents' village." On the third day she is returned to her father's house with the dowry cattle.[1]

At the ceremony of uncovering the face of an Egyptian bride, the groom has to give her a present of money therefor, and she does not allow the uncovering without some reluctance, if not violent resistance, in order to show her maiden modesty. He then sees her face for the first time.[2] The Aeneze groom, soon after sunset, goes to a tent pitched for him at a distance from the camp ; there he shuts himself up and awaits the arrival of the bride. The bashful girl meanwhile runs from the tent of one friend to another till she is caught at last, and conducted in triumph to the bridegroom's tent ; he receives her at the entrance, and forces her into it.[3] Amongst the Bedouins of Sinai the bride is met in the evening by the groom and two of his young friends, and carried off by force to her father's tent. "She defends herself with stones, and often inflicts wounds on the young men, even though she does not dislike her lover, for according to custom the more she struggles, bites, kicks, cries, and strikes, the more she is applauded for ever after by her own companions." There follows the throwing over her of the *abba*, or man's cloak, and a formal announcement of the name of the husband. Then

[1] J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1891) xx. 138.

[2] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 214.

[3] J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (1829), i. 107.

she is dressed in bridal attire, and, still struggling, is led two or three times round and finally into the groom's tent. The resistance is continued to the last.[1] In the Mezeyne tribe of the Sinai peninsula the girl after betrothal is furnished with provisions by her female friends, and is encouraged to run away and fly to the mountains. If the bridegroom succeeds in finding her retreat, he is bound to consummate the marriage on the spot, and pass the night in the open country. He brings her home, but she repeatedly escapes and only consents to live in her husband's tent after she is far advanced in pregnancy. After remaining with her family about a year, she rejoins her husband, though she may not be expecting a child.[2]

The stock description of Australian marriage, for instance at Botany Bay, that the man knocks the woman down with a club, and carries her off,[3] is exaggerated. An Australian girl, when made over to her husband, goes to his hut with reluctance, and when that feeling does not occur, it is the fashion to assume it, and occasionally the husband uses violence and compels his wife to enter his camp, "a circumstance," adds Mr Curr, who knew the natives well, "which has been much burlesqued by some writers."[4] [And Messrs Spencer and Gillen add that capture is the "very rarest way in which a Central Australian secures a wife."][5] In New Zealand "even where all were agreeable, it was the custom for the groom to go with a party and appear to take her away by force, her friends yielding her up after a feigned struggle."[6]

[1] J. L. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, i. 263-264. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 269.

[3] As by A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (1860), iii. 292.

[4] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 110.

[5] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 104.

[6] R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui* (1870), p. 163.

The various stages of the following ceremonial show well how it is the maiden who is to be conciliated. In Fiji the first act of wooing, to obtain the girl's consent, was called "mutual attachment." The next step was "nursing"; the girl was conducted to the bridegroom's house. As she wept copious tears at being torn from the parental home, the friends of the groom endeavoured to assuage her sorrow by offering presents. This was called "the drying of tears." The next step was the "warming," and consisted in the sending of food to the bride by the bridegroom. For the next step, the groom and his friends arrived and the girl served them with food she had prepared, and she and the bridegroom ate together. This was known as the "bathing," for before it the bride bathed in the sea.[1] Amongst the Orang-Benuas of Malacca the bride runs away into the forest during the wedding ceremonies; the groom chases her, and if he falls or returns unsuccessful, "he is met with the jeers and merriment of the whole party, and the match is declared off. It generally happens though, that the lady contrives to stumble over the roots of some tree friendly to Venus, and falls (fortuitously of course) into the outstretched arms of her pursuer."[2]

Amongst the Karens the candidate for a maiden's hand has to escalade her cabin, and is expected to overthrow a strong man placed for her defence.[3] Such cases of "connubial capture" have nothing whatever to do, it need hardly be observed, with the so-called marriage by capture. The Khonds hold a feast at the bride's house. Far in the night "the principals in the scene are

[1] T. Williams *and* J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (1870), i. 169-170.

[2] T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (1839), ii. 407.

[3] Sir J. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (1857), ii. 45.

raised by an uncle of each upon his shoulder and borne through the dance. The burdens are suddenly exchanged, and the uncle of the youth suddenly disappears with the bride. The assembly divides into two parties; the friends of the bride endeavour to arrest, those of the bridegroom to cover her flight, and men, women, and children mingle in mock conflict." [1] Another writer describes the scene thus: "I saw a man bearing away upon his back something enveloped in an ample covering of scarlet cloth; he was surrounded by twenty or thirty young fellows, and by them protected from the desperate attacks made upon him by a party of young women. The man was just married, and the burden was his blooming bride, whom he was conveying to his own village. Her youthful friends, as it appears is the custom, were seeking to regain possession of her, and hurled stones and bamboos at the head of the devoted bridegroom until he reached the confines of his own village. Then the tables were turned and the bride fairly won; and off her young friends scampered, screaming and laughing, but not relaxing their speed till they reached their own village." [2] Amongst the Hos after three days of marriage, the bride has to leave her husband, and he has to carry her home again, while she strenuously resists, kicking, screaming and biting. "It should be done as if there were no shamming about it." [3]

The same kind of thing is sometimes seen on the part of the bridegroom, sexual bashfulness not always being confined to the female sex. It is the Egyptian

[1] S. C. Macpherson, *An Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa* (1852), p. 55.

[2] J. Campbell, *A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan* (1864), p. 44.

[3] V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India* (1880), p. 479.

custom that the bridegroom as well as the bride should exhibit bashfulness ; and he is carried up to the *hareem* by a friend.[1] In the Andamans the bride sits among the matrons, and the groom among the bachelors. The chief approaches him in order to lead him to the bride, but he assumes a modest demeanour and simulates reluctance to move ; after encouragement he allows himself to be led slowly, sometimes he is dragged, up to the girl, who, if young, displays much modesty, weeping and hiding her face ; her female attendants straighten her legs, and the groom is then made to sit on her thighs, and thus they are married.[2] Amongst the Kaffirs the groom, no less than the bride, runs away, but is brought back by the women.[3] In the above cases we have seen the maiden "captured," if the term be kept, but from herself, from her innocent, shy and timid personality, by a rough but half-kind method of violence, which has the effect of obviating her bashfulness by conquering it, and of neutralising its results, which, being part of the basis of sexual taboo and a peculiar property of the female sex, are dangerous to men, by a make-believe or sympathetic process.

In some of the following examples we see the bride "captured" and taken away from her sex also, who, by psychological necessity, takes her part, as previous examples have shown.[4] When the Malay bridegroom arrives at the bride's house, there is a mimic conflict for the person of the bride. In some cases a rope or piece of red cloth is stretched across the path to bar the

[1] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 214.

[2] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 137.

[3] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 76.

[4] [Above, ii. 48-49, 78-80.]

progress of the bridegroom's party, and a stout resistance is made till the groom pays a fine. He enters the house amid volleys of rice, and fights his way to the reception room.[1] After the three days' separation which follows the South Celebes wedding, the bridegroom, on coming to claim his bride, finds the house barricaded, and the inmates fire muskets. Entrance is allowed after a payment. Later on he enters the bridal chamber, where the bride sits on the bed concealed by curtains, and when he is about to open the curtains, he is resisted by the women who are in attendance on the bride. When this difficulty is surmounted, the bride pretends to run away; however, she stays for the ceremony, in which one sews the pair together by their clothes. This is followed by the ceremony of placing one garment, a *sarong*, over the pair, who are then considered united. The rite is called *ridjala-sampoe*, "catching the bride with a *sarong* as with a fishing-net."[2] It is a curious coincidence that, while the bridegroom is on his way to the bride's home, his escort *fish* the air with nets, for evil spirits.[3] Further, when the pair are released from the *sarong* which is about them both, the bride pretends to run away again; she is followed by the bridegroom, and pushes him off with her fan. The next night and for two nights more the running away is repeated with variations. The whole business is ended by a final ceremony, called "reconciliation."[4] In Soemba a sham fight takes place between the men who act for the bridegroom and the female relatives of the bride, until the former manage to seize her.[5]

[1] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 381.

[2] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), pp. 31, 33-34.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 37, 42.

[5] S. Roos, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van Taal, Land en Volk op het Eiland Soemba," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1872), xxxvi. 53.

Amongst the Mundas[1] and Oraons[2] there is a mimic fight for the bride. [Among the peoples of the Hindoo-Koosh, when the bridegroom and his friends return to their home with the bride, the latter's women-folk follow them and assail them unmercifully with mud and filth, as well as with abuse. It is made clear, however, that they are only feigning anger. Soon the bridegroom gives a present to the bride's mother, and is allowed to depart in peace.[3] In the Punjab, the women who are present at the marriage ceremony in the bride's place, "find an immoral delight in pelting the bridegroom's procession with such abuse as gives us an appalling view of the standard of social morality common among the generality of the population."[4] Amongst the Lolos, near Mount Wa in the interior of China, we find an excellent example of this capture of the bride from the female sex. Here the resistance offered to the bridegroom's friends is very substantial, for, while the males content themselves with throwing flour and wood-ashes, the females not only are armed with sticks, but have full liberty to use them.[5]

Among the Kamchadales, the custom is very similar to that already noted[6] among the Koryak. After he has served the requisite time and obtained permission to do so, the bridegroom goes to seize his bride. He "seeks every opportunity of finding her alone, or in the company of a few people; for during this time all the women in the village are obliged to protect her; besides she has two or three different coats, and is swaddled round with

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), p. 194.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[3] J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (1880), p. 80.

[4] C. L. Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law* (1881), ii. 92.

[5] E. C. Baber, "Travels and Researches in Western China," *Supplementary Papers [of the] Royal Geographical Society* (1882), i. 69.

[6] [Above, ii. 82-83.]

fish nets and straps, so that she has little more motion that [*sic*] a statue. If the bridegroom happens to find her alone, or in company but with a few, he throws himself upon her, and begins to tear off her cloaths, nets, and straps; for to strip the bride naked constitutes the ceremony of marriage. This is not always an easy task; for though she herself makes small resistance (and indeed she can make but little) yet, if there happen to be many women near, they all fall upon the bridegroom without any mercy, beating him, dragging him by the hair, scratching his face, and using every other method they can think of to prevent him from accomplishing his design." This contest sometimes goes on for a whole year, on one occasion for seven years, for so unsparing are these ladies in the defence of their sex, that the bridegroom has to take a rest from time to time to allow his wounds to heal.][1] Such mock fights and "captures" are very common in the peasant-customs at marriage throughout Europe.[2] Thus, amongst the Saxons of Transylvania, a crowd of masked figures attempt to separate the newly wed pair. If they succeed the bridegroom has to win her back by a fight or a ransom; it is considered a bad omen if this occurs.[3] This is a good example, as showing how force on the part of the husband is in all these customs intended to make the union secure.

There are a few cases where destiny is propitiated by a retreat after the ceremony. This coincides with the natural desire to escape from a more or less trying ordeal. In some cases the escape is to one's old home.

[1] [S. P. Krasheninnikoff], *The History of Kamtschatka, and the Kurilski Islands with the Countries adjacent* (1764), pp. 212-213.

[2] Baron I. *and* Baroness O. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (1871), *passim.*

[3] E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest* (1888), i. 186.

On the night of the third day after a Malay wedding there is a very curious ceremony. The relatives of the groom assemble and make a bonfire of rubbish under the house of the newly-married couple. Such a smoke is raised that presently the bridegroom comes down, ostensibly to see what is the matter, but as soon as he appears he is seized and carried off to his own parents' house. These proceedings are known as "the stealing of the bridegroom." Next day he is escorted back in a grand procession. On his arrival the pair are sprinkled with water to avert ill-luck, and with holy water to bring good luck.[1] The day after marriage the Egyptian bridegroom is taken into the country by the man who carried him up to the *hareem ;* this is called "the flight." [2] Amongst the Wa-teita, after the three days' fast and seclusion which follow marriage, the bride is conveyed to her old home again by a procession of girls.[3] Amongst the Larkas she runs home after three days and tells her parents that she is not happy. The groom has to come and take her back by force.[4] Other cases have been mentioned incidentally.[5]

There is a curious custom, with one or two variations, which is found occasionally. It is the custom of drubbing the newly-wedded pair, or "ragging their rooms." It is not an "expiation" for marriage, but is induced by that common human feeling which prompted the superstitious Greek to throw away something of value so as to avoid *Nemesis.* It is a sort of sacrifice to

[1] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), pp. 385-386.

[2] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of The Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 214.

[3] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 51.

[4] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (1882), p. 67.

[5] [See also E. C. Parsons, "The Reluctant Bridegroom," *Anthropos* (1915-1916), x.-xi. 65-67.]

propitiate destiny, combined with the idea that people who have been thus rendered more or less destitute will be passed over by jealous powers of evil. It is done by the Maoris, who swoop down upon the dwelling of the newly-wed couple, and plunder and destroy their goods. The practice is also followed on all great occasions as a mark of respect. It is instructive to note that it is performed when one has broken taboo (as, by the way, a married pair have broken sexual taboo), and when one has had an accident.[1] Another account states that "as soon as the marriage is consummated, the nearest relatives of both attack the hut, rob it, and give the pair a sound thrashing. This ceremony is also performed on the occasion of misfortune happening to a person."[2] The same idea is to be seen in the common practice of breaking something at a wedding, such as a piece of crockery, as amongst the Saxons of Transylvania, who still say it is to keep off misfortune.[3] It is the Dyak custom, when two tribes make peace, for each in turn to invade and plunder the other's land. It is done ceremonially.[4] This half-real revenge is intended to satisfy one's feelings, in accordance with the savage instinctive habit of make-believe. Cases such as the following, which are often misunderstood, are explained in the same way: when a Kurnai girl elopes (the recognised method of getting married), she is beaten by her relatives, not as a punishment, but "simply to follow an ancestral custom," which, it may be added, is not "expiation for marriage."[5] [Dr Westermarck made similar observations: "Among

[1] W. Yate, *An Account of New Zealand* (1835), pp. 86, 97, 104, 237.

[2] J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (1840), i. 141.

[3] E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest* (1888), ii. 35.

[4] Sir C. A. J. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarâwak* (1866), i. 368.

[5] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 259.

the Berbers of the Aith Sádděn and Aith Yúsi the bride, after her tour round the bridegroom's tent or village or the mosque in it, beats the tent three times with a cane, as I was told, in order that the evil shall go away from it, or to remove any evil which may be in the bridegroom's family and to expel death from the domestic animals ; it would be very unpleasant for the young wife if a child or animal should die shortly after her marriage, as its death would naturally be associated with her presence. But in Morocco bride and bridegroom are also themselves beaten or tapped for purificatory purposes. . . . The bride, also, may be ceremonially beaten, and not only by the bridegroom. . . . Thus at Amzmüz, in the Atlas, the bride's brother, after he has placed a silver coin in one of his sister's slippers and then put them on her feet, taps her three times with his own slipper."][1]

Few theories of primitive society have had such a vogue as that of Marriage by Capture, yet few theories have been built on such slender foundations. The tinge of romance belonging to the hypothesis has no doubt had something to do with its popularity. Its general unscientific nature, however, has been demonstrated by Mr Fison and Dr Westermarck ;[2] it remained to examine the types of formal and connubial "capture." The explanation of these forms as not being survivals, as not indeed having anything to do with "marriage by capture" proper, but arising in a natural way from

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 516-518 ; *id.*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914), pp. 104, 120-121, 157, 162, 256-258, 323 *n.*[7].

[2] [All the arguments are set out by Dr Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 240 *et seq.*]

normal human feelings, destroys what was the chief support of the old theory of "capture." The theory, then, that mankind in general, or even any particular section of mankind, ever in normal circumstances were accustomed to obtain their wives by capture from other tribes, may be regarded as exploded. There have been, of course, and still are, sporadic cases of capture of wives from hostile tribes or others, but such cannot prove a rule. A useful illustration may be drawn from Australian custom. It has often been asserted that marriage by capture is a common practice amongst the natives of that continent. Messrs Spencer and Gillen note this, and point out that it is of the rarest occurrence amongst the Central Australians, and that when it does occur, it arises out of an expedition of vengeance against a hostile tribe.[1] Mr Curr also states that it is very rare throughout the continent.[2] The capture of women is naturally an attendant circumstance of invasion. Further, the "marriage by capture" so often attributed to the Australians simply amounts to this, that the woman to be married, according to peaceful tribal custom and the classificatory arrangement, is sometimes forcibly taken by the bridegroom for obvious reasons, as we have seen,[3] or, as happens in all ages, elopement takes place. In Ceram, for instance, we are told that "marriage by capture takes place usually when the girl's parents are opposed to the match."[4] When carefully examined, most of the old examples adduced as instances of "marriage by capture" turn out to be either mere

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 104.

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 108, 110.

[3] [Above, ii. 81-92.]

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 133.

inferences of such, or cases of connubial and formal capture, or, as the last case and many of McLennan's examples, elopements.

"Capture" proper, that is, hostile capture from another tribe, has never been, and could never be, a mode of marriage—it is only a method of obtaining a wife. These two have often been confused. Connubial and formal capture are very widely spread, but are never survivals of real capture. The former is often found as a matter of fact to secure the person of the wife, and sometimes occurs side by side with formal capture. In fact, formal capture, far from being itself a survival either of connubial capture or of hostile capture, is the ceremonial mode of which connubial capture is the non-ceremonial; each is a living reality, the one being material and the other ideal, the one practical and the other ceremonial.[1] If, as Tylor held with McLennan, formal capture is a survival of real capture (hostile or connubial), there ought to be no cases of formal capture in the maternal stage. But there are such. The people of New Britain, who reckon genealogy by female descent, have marriage by formal capture.[2] Again, what precise bearing, we may ask, on this question, have cases where the bridegroom is captured?[3] Such a practice (formal) is followed by the Garos, a maternal people.[4] Is this a record of the passage from a paternal to a maternal system? Tylor regarded capture as being the way by

[1] [Dr G. E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (1904), i. 177, quotes this passage with only partial approval, because he believes capture in war to be a fact, which is not only nowhere contested, but is taken for granted in the previous paragraph.]

[2] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group." *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 294.

[3] [See above, ii. 89.]

[4] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (1882), p. 195.

which "paternal" households gradually superseded "maternal."[1] The young bridegroom certainly is often under this, perhaps more often than under the paternal system, more or less looked after by his parents-in-law, but it is because of paternal and maternal feelings, not because of the maternal system. But there is no evidence that the maternal system was ever general or always preceded the paternal system; such evidence as the common practice of a man living with his bride's parents for a short time, before setting up house for himself, proving nothing except that they wish to look after their daughter's welfare until a child is born, and to see that permanence is thereby assured to the tie; or in many cases that it is a convenient arrangement until the pair get a house. As to capture setting on foot paternal institutions, we may here see another way in which misconceptions may arise as to the maternal system. This is, after all, except in rare cases, simply a method of genealogy, and has nothing to do with the husband's authority in the family; yet, under any system, and in any age, sexual difference makes the wife the housekeeper with some control within the house, while the husband is guardian of the family and has general control. This is well seen in those Australian tribes which have the maternal system, but the husband is master and guardian of the family, and has a taboo with his mother-in-law. We mention this last detail, because that has been adduced as a proof of marriage by capture, the mother, it is supposed, being so indignant at the heartless "capture" of her daughter that she will not even speak to her son-in-law. Of course such cases may have occurred.

Lastly, exogamy is by no means a result of real or

[1] Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 260.

of any sort of capture. To attempt to show that it is would be as hardy as to try, with McLennan, to prove the practice of capture as resulting from infanticide of female children. Capture cannot be proved universal enough to have given rise to so widely-spread a system as exogamy ; also the real meaning of the term exogamy is often misunderstood.

It is now perhaps evident that it is not the tribe from which the bride is abducted, nor, primarily, her family and kindred, but her sex. [After misquoting this sentence, M. van Gennep contends, a little naïvely perhaps, that the bride cannot be captured from her sex, which she cannot change ; what she does, in his view, is to leave one restricted sexual society to enter another. And he concludes that he knows of no case where sexual solidarity is general, "that is to say, in which the girls and women of the family, the clan and the tribe of the young man oppose the entry of the bride."[1] But this is a complete misunderstanding of sexual solidarity, which assumes the existence of a sympathy, and not an enmity, between women as such. Examples of most of the manifestations of sexual solidarity have already been given ;[2] and Dr Westermarck, in replying to this same observation of M. van Gennep's, writes : "But in Morocco, the bridegroom is sometimes attacked by all the women assembled outside his house,[3] or they curse both his and the bride's father, as if the marriage were an offence against their sex,[4] and the sex antagonism is also conspicuous in the fights which take place between the bachelors and the unmarried women,[5] or the women

[1] A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), pp. 179-180.

[2] [Above, i. 52-53, 198, ii. 48-49, 76-77.]

[3] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914), pp. 211, 223.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 223, 346.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 238, 269, 346.

in general,[1] in the young man's attempts to take something from the bride, who is defended by the other women and her bridesmen,[2] and in the robberies which the men of the bridal procession commit on the bridegroom's mother and sisters as well as on the bride.[3] "][4] A second class of cases are those where women's sexual characters of timidity, bashfulness and passivity are sympathetically overcome by make-believe representation of male characteristic action. A third class combines these two, and potentially, they may always merge in each other. Connubial capture and formal capture are identical, but the latter is on the spiritual plane.

The ceremonies to be next mentioned form a link between neutralising ceremonies and those which actually and materially unite the woman and woman. The principle behind them is that of inoculation. That principle has been described,[5] and its use to lessen sexual danger has been seen,[6] in the account of initiatory rites. Being one-sided only, it is useful for marriage in abstract or *in extenso*, as initiation may be called, but is naturally not common as a sacramental method of marrying two individuals. As the initiatory practice is in essence identical with love-charms of similar character, so is this marriage ceremony.[7] A case which shows the identity of principle is from Morocco. On the evening before the marriage, the "*henna* night," the bridegroom visits the bride. He applies *henna* to her hands, and removes a ring from her finger and a bracelet from her arm, and wears the one or the other

[1] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 247, 261, 268, 346.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 223, 346. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 223, 346.

[4] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 275.

[5] [Above, i. 280-281.] [6] [Above, ii. 21-22.]

[7] [Cp. B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), p. 307.]

until the nuptials are finally celebrated.[1] He thus assimilates himself to her, and brings himself into communion with her, satisfying his instincts of love and his subconscious fear of union at the same time. The example is also instructive as being on the way to become a double inoculation in the fact that he applies something to her. The common Indian practice of *sindur*, by which the bride touches the groom with red ochre, sugar and water, and the like, is inoculation of her with himself. The Bhil ceremony in which the bride does this as well, shows inoculation becoming mutual.[2]

There are some interesting cases in which the principle of inoculation is expressed by one or other of the pair wearing the dress of the opposite sex. It is inoculation and assimilation effected by wearing the same kind of clothes as the loved and dreaded person, and is paralleled by many cases in which a lover wears a bracelet or some article of clothing of his mistress. [This inversion of dress has already been incidentally noted[3] and is of great importance in the present connection ; it will be interesting to examine the subject as a whole.[4]

"The remarks of Sir James Frazer may introduce this part of the subject, which is curiously large. 'The religious or superstitious interchange of dress between men and women is an obscure and complex problem, and it is unlikely that any single solution would apply to all the cases.'[5] He suggests that the

[1] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (1876), pp. 35-36.

[2] W. Kincaid, "The Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 402.

[3] [Above, i. 293, 243-244, 250-252, 318 *et seq.*]

[4] The following excursus on the inversion of dress is an extract, with trifling omissions and alterations, from Mr Crawley's article "Dress," *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (1912), v. 68-71.

[5] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1911-1915), vi. 260.

custom of the bride dressing as a male might be a magical mode of ensuring a male heir,[1] and that the wearing by the wife of her husband's garments might be a magical mode of transferring her pains to the man.[2] The latter mode would thus be the converse of the former. We may also note the importance assigned to the principle of transference or contagion. Such ideas, it may be premised, are perhaps secondary, the conscious reaction to an unconscious impulsive action, whose motivation may be entirely different. The whole subject falls simply into clear divisions, which may be explained as they come. The Zulu 'Black Ox Sacrifice' produces rain. The officiators, chief men, wear the girdles of young girls for the occasion.[3] To produce a change in nature, it is necessary for man to change himself. The idea is unconscious, but its meaning is adaptation. Its reverse aspect is a change of luck by a change of self. The most obvious change is change of sex, the sexual demarcation being the strongest known to society, dividing it into two halves. The following shows this more clearly; in order to avert disease from their cattle, the Zulus perform the *umkuba*. This is the custom of allowing the girls to herd the oxen for a day. All the young women rise early, dress themselves entirely in their brothers' clothes, and taking their brothers' knobkerries and sticks, open the cattle-pen and drive the cattle to pasture, returning at sunset. No one of the male sex may go near them or speak to them meanwhile.[4] Similarly, among the old Arabs, a man

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1911-1915), vi. 262.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 216; *id.*, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iv. 248 *et seq.*

[3] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1868-1870), p. 93.

[4] E. G. Carbutt, "Some Minor Superstitions and Customs of the Zulus," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1880), ii. 12-13.

stung by a scorpion would try the cure of wearing a woman's bracelets and ear-rings.[1]

"On this principle, as a primary reason, a large group of birth customs may be explained. When a Guatemalan woman was lying-in, her husband put his clothes upon her, and both confessed their sins.[2] Here and in the next three cases the intention seems to be a change of personality to induce a change of state. A German peasant woman will wear her husband's coat from birth till churching, 'in order to delude the evil spirits.'[3] When delivery is difficult, a Watubella man puts his clothes under his wife's body,[4] and a Central Australian ties his own hair-girdle round her head.[5] In China, the father's trousers are hung up in the room, 'so that all evil influences may enter into them instead of into the child.'[6] In the last case the dress itself acts as a warning notice, representative of the father's person.

"In the following is to be seen the principle of impersonation, the reverse method of change of personality, combined, no doubt, with an impulsive sympathetic reaction, equivalent to a desire to share the pain. In Southern India, among the wandering Erukalavandhu, 'directly the woman feels the birth-pangs, she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead

[1] J. L. Rasmussen, *Additamenta ad historiam Arabum ante Islamismum excerpta ex Ibn Nabatah, Nuveirio atque Ibn Koteibah* (1821), p. 65.

[2] A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, commonly call'd the West-Indies* (1725-1726), iv. 148.

[3] H. H. Ploss-M. Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde* (1905), i. 123, 254.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 207.

[5] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 467.

[6] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 122.

the mark which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room . . . covering himself up with a long cloth.'[1] In Thuringia the man's shirt is hung before the window. In South Germany and in Hungary the father's smock is worn by the child to protect it from fairies. In Königsberg a mother puts her clothes over the child, to prevent the evil *Drud* carrying it off, and to dress a child in its father's smock brings it luck.[2] Among the Basutos, when a child is sick, the medicine-man puts a piece of his own *setsiba* garment upon it.[3] In Silesia a sick child is wrapped in its mother's bridal apron. A Bohemian mother puts a piece of her own dress on a sick child. At Bern it is believed that to wrap a boy in his father's shirt will make him strong. Conversely, in some parts of Germany, it is unlucky to wrap a boy in his mother's dress.[4] In these cases secondary ideas are clearly present. In particular, the influence of a person's dress, as part of or impregnated with his personality, is to be seen.

"A holiday being a suspension of normal life, it tends to be accompanied by every kind of reversal of the usual order. Commonly all laws and customs are broken. An obvious mode of reversal is the adoption of the garments of the other sex, examples of which we have already seen.[5] The result, and in some degree the motive, of such interchange is purely social, expressive of the desire for good-fellowship and union.

"Numerous cases fall under the heading of sympathetic assimilation. Magical results may be combined

[1] J. Cain, in *The Indian Antiquary* (1874), iii. 151.

[2] H. H. Ploss-M. Bartels, *op. cit.*, i. 123, ii. 40.

[3] H. Grützner, "Die Gebräuche der Basutho," *Verhandelungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1877), p. 78.

[4] H. H. Ploss-M. Bartels, *op. cit.*, i. 62, ii. 217, 221.

[5] [Above, i. 321.]

with an instinctive adaptation, or may follow it. In Korea, soldiers' wives 'are compelled to wear their husbands' green regimental coats thrown over their heads like shawls. The object of this law was to make sure that the soldiers should have their coats in good order, in case of war suddenly breaking out. The soldiers have long ceased to wear green coats, but the custom is still observed.'[1] The explanation is obviously *ex post facto*. It seems more probable that the fashion corresponds to the European custom of women wearing their husbands' or lovers' colours. Every autumn the Ngente of Assam celebrate a festival in honour of all children born during the year. During this time men disguised as women or as members of a neighbouring tribe visit all the mothers and dance in return for presents.[2] In the Hervey Islands a widow wears the dress of her dead husband. A widower may be seen walking about in his dead wife's gown. 'Instead of her shawl, a mother will wear on her back a pair of trousers belonging to a little son just laid in his grave.'[3] In Timorlaut widows and widowers wear a piece of the clothing of the dead in the hair.[4]

"The custom is very frequent, as we have seen, at pubertal ceremonies. In such cases we may see, at the initiation to the sexual life and state, an adaptation to it in the form of an assimilation to the other sex. The principle of sympathetic assimilation is clearly brought out in the following two examples. At the ceremonial

[1] H. B. Saunderson, "Notes on Corea and its People," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 303.

[2] *Census of India* (1901), *Ethnographical Appendices*, i. 228, cited by A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 69.

[3] W. W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* (1876), p. 78.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 307.

burying of the placenta, Babar women who officiate wear men's girdles if the child is a boy, but women's *sarongs* if a girl.[1] At the festival celebrating a birth, Fijian men paint on their bodies the tatoo-marks of women.[2] The principle is brought out by such customs as that mentioned by Spix and Martius, of Brazilian youths at dances with the girls wearing girls' ornaments.[3]

"Many cases of the custom at feasts are complicated by various accidents. Sometimes it is meaningless except as a necessity. Among the Torres Islanders, women do not take part in ceremonies. Accordingly, at the annual death-dance deceased women are personated not by women but by men, dressed in women's petticoats.[4] In other cases the data are insufficient for an explanation. Thus, at harvest ceremonies in Bavaria, the officiating reaper is dressed in women's clothes; or if a woman be selected for the office, she is dressed as a man.[5] At the vernal festival of Heracles at Rome, men dressed as women. The choir at the Athenian *Oschophoria* was led by two youths dressed as girls.[6] Cases occur of change of sexual dress by way of disguise; it is more frequent in civilisation than in barbarism. A Bangala man troubled by a bad *mongoli*, evil spirit, left his house secretly. 'He donned a woman's dress and assumed a female voice, and pretended to be other than he was in order to deceive the *mongoli*. This failed to cure him, and in time he returned to his town, but continued to act as a woman.'[7] The last detail and

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

[2] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians* (1858), i. 175.

[3] J. B. von Spix *and* C. F. P. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil* (1824), ii. 114.

[4] A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters, Black, White, and Brown* (1901), p. 139.

[5] F. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* (1848), ii. 217.

[6] Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 46; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 322 *a*.

[7] J. H. Weeks, "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *J.A.I.* [1910], xl. 370-371.

the psychological analysis of modern cases suggest that a congenital tendency towards some form of inversion is present in such cases. On the face of them, we have to account for the choice of a *sexual* change of dress. A Koita homicide wears special ornaments and is tattooed. The latter practice is otherwise limited to the female sex.[1] Women's dress may involve the assumption of women's weakness and similar properties.[2] The king of Burma suggested to the king of Aracan to dress his soldiers as women. They consequently became effeminate and weak.[3] The same inversion of dress is observed at mourning ;[4] death, the negative of life, has taken place and made a violent break with the tenor of existence, hence such an adaptation. Occasions might well be conceived when, if change of attire was desired, the only obvious attire presenting itself would be that of the other sex.

"One of the most complex cases, at first appearance, is that of the adoption of feminine dress by priests, shamans and medicine-men. Where for various mythological reasons an androgynous deity exists, it is natural that the attendant priests should be sympathetically made two-sexed in their garb, and even that the worshippers should invert their dress. Sacrifice was made to the Bearded Venus of Cyprus by men dressed as women, and by women dressed as men.[5] As a rule, however, the deity is an invention intended, unconsciously enough, to harmonise with a traditional habit of priestly life. This particular habit is of wide extension, and involves a whole genus of psychoses.

[1] C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (1910), p. 130.

[2] [See above, i. 251-252.]

[3] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (1820), pp. 137-138.

[4] [See above, i. 364.]

[5] Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, III. vii. 2 ; Servius *on* Virgil, *Æneid*, ii. 637.

"Chukchi shamans commonly dress as women.[1] The *basir* of the Dyaks made their living by witchcraft, and are dressed as women.[2] The priestesses, *balians*, of the Dyaks, dress as men.[3] Sometimes a Dyak priest marries simultaneously a man and a woman.[4] Among both the Northern Asiatic peoples and the Dyaks it frequently happens that a double inversion takes place, so that of the wedded priestly pair, the husband is a woman and the wife a man. It is said by the Koryaks that shamans who had changed their sex were very powerful.[5] The Illinois and Naudowessie Indians regarded such men as had 'changed their sex' as *manitoos* or as supernaturally gifted persons.[6] But it is unnecessary to assume that the practice is intended to acquire special magical powers attributed to women. This idea may supervene. Possibly the fatalistic nature of the change itself, as mere change, has had some influence.

"Patagonian sorcerers chosen from children afflicted with St Vitus's dance, wore women's clothes. Priests among the Indians of Louisiana dressed as women.[7] In the Pelew Islands a remarkable change of sex was observed. A goddess often chose a man, instead of a woman, to be her mouthpiece. In such cases the man, dressed as a woman, was regarded and treated as a woman.[8] One significance of this is in connection with

[1] W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition* (1908), vi. 52-53.

[2] A. Hardeland, *Dajacksch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (1859), *s.v.* "Basir."

[3] J. de Rovere van Breugel, "Beschrijving van Bantam en de Lampongs," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* (1856), *n.s.*, i. 330.

[4] S. St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (1862), i. 62.

[5] W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, vi. 52.

[6] J. Marquette, *Récits des voyages et découvertes* (1855), pp. 53-54.

[7] A. Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte* (1860), iii. 309-310.

[8] J. Kubary, ["Die Religion der Pelauer"], *in* A. Bastian, *Allerlie aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (1888), i. 35.

Pelewan social system. Sir James Frazer regards this inspiration by a female spirit as explaining other cases when sex is exchanged, as with the priesthoods of the Dyaks, Bugis, Patagonians, Aleuts, and other Indian tribes. It is stated of some North American cases that the man dreamed he was inspired by a female spirit, and that his 'medicine' was to live as a woman. In Uganda, Mukasa gave oracles through a woman, who when she prophesied, wore clothes knotted in the masculine style. The legends of Sardanapalus (Assur-bani-pal) and Heracles, as well as the cases of the priests of Cybele and the Syrian goddess, would come under this explanation. The priest of Heracles at Cos wore a woman's raiment when he sacrificed. The story of Heracles himself may be a reminiscence of such effiminate priests, who were priest-gods. Dionysus Pseudanor is a similar embodiment of the principle.[1]

"Eunuchs in India are sometimes dedicated to the goddess *Huligamma*, and wear female dress. Men who believe themselves to be impotent serve this goddess, and dress as women in order to recover their virility.[2] A festival was given among the Sioux Indians to a man dressed and living as a woman, the *berdashe* or *i-coo-coo-a*. 'For extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess, he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties, which he is not allowed to escape; and he, being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation, is looked upon as "medicine" and sacred and a feast is given to him annually.'[3]

"Among the iron-workers of Manipur the god

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1911-1915), vi. 253 *et seq.*

[2] *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (1854), xi. 343.

[3] G. Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (1876), ii. 214-215.

Khumlangba is attended by priestesses, *maibi*. But a man is sometimes taken possession of by the god. He is then known as *maiba*, and wears at ceremonies the dress of a *maibi*, that is, white cloth round the body from below the arms, a white jacket and a sash. 'The *maibi* is looked on as superior to any man, by reason of her communion with the god; and therefore if a man is honoured in the same way he assumes the dress of the *maibi* as an honour. If a man marries a *maibi*, he sleeps on the right of her, whereas the ordinary place of a woman is the right, as being the inferior side. It appears that women are more liable to be possessed by the god, and the same may be observed among the hill tribes of these parts.'[1]

"The *nganga*, medicine-men, of the Bangala, in certain ceremonies after a death, for the purpose of discovering the slayer, dress up as women.[2] Off the coast of Aracan there were 'conjurers' who dressed and lived as women.[3] On the Congo a priest dressed as a woman and was called Grandmother.[4] The Nahanarvals, a tribe of ancient Germany, had a priest dressed as a woman. Men of the Vallabha sect win the favour of Krishna by wearing their hair long and generally assimilating themselves to women. The practice is even followed by rajas.[5] Candidates for the *areoi* society of Tahiti were invested with the dress of women.[6]

[1] J. Shakespear, "Notes on the Iron-Workers of Manipur and the Annual Festival in honour of their special Deity Khumlangba," *J.A.I.* [1910], xl. 354.

[2] J. H. Weeks, "Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River," *J.A.I.* [1910], xl. 388.

[3] W. Foley, "Journal of a Tour through the Island of Rambree, with a Geological Sketch of the Country, and Brief Account of the Customs, etc., of its Inhabitants," *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1835), iv. 199.

[4] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Éthiopie Occidentale* (1732), ii. 195.

[5] Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India* (1885), p. 136.

[6] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1859), i. 324.

"There is no doubt that these phenomena are cases of sexual inversion, congenital or acquired, partial or complete. Any idea of inspiration by female deities or the reverse is secondary, as also the notions of assimilation of priest to goddess, or of marriage of a priest to a god. The significant fact is that throughout history the priesthood has had a tendency towards effemination. Sexual inversion has especially obtained among the connected races of North Asia, and of America. It is marked by inversion of dress. 'In nearly every part of the continent [of America] there seem to have been, since ancient times, men dressing themselves in the clothes and performing the functions of women.' Thus in Kadiak, 'it was the custom for parents who had a girl-like son to dress and rear him as a girl, teaching him only domestic duties, keeping him at women's work, and letting him associate only with women and girls.' A Chukchi boy at the age of sixteen will often relinquish his sex. He adopts a woman's dress, and lets his hair grow. It frequently happens that in such cases the husband is a woman and the wife a man. 'These abnormal changes of sex . . . appear to be strongly encouraged by the shamans, who interpret such cases as an injunction of their individual deity.'[1] A similar practice is found among the Koryaks.[2]

"Amongst the Sacs there were men dressed as women.[3] So amongst the Lushais[4] and Caucasians.[5] Among the

[1] E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1912-1917), ii. 456-458.

[2] W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition* (1908), vi. 52-53.

[3] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St Peter's River* (1824), i. 227-228.

[4] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (1870), p. 255.

[5] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus* 1796-1797), i. 270.

former, women sometimes become men; when asked the reason, a woman so changed said 'her *khuarang* was not good, and so she became a man.'[1] In Tahiti, there were men, called *mahoos*, who assumed 'the dress, attitude, and manners of women.'[2] So among the Malagasy (the men called *tsecats*), the Ondonga in South-West (German) Africa, and the Diakité-Sarracolese in the French Sudan.[3] Of the Aleut *schupans* Langsdorf wrote: 'Boys, if they happen to be very handsome, are often brought up entirely in the manner of girls, and instructed in the arts women use to please men; their beards are carefully plucked out as soon as they begin to appear, and their chins tattooed like those of women; they wear ornaments of glass beads upon their legs and arms, bind and cut their hair in the same manner as the women.'[4] Lisiansky described them also and those of the Koniagas: 'They even assume the manner and dress of the women so nearly that a stranger would naturally take them for what they are not. . . . The residence of one of these in a house was considered as fortunate.'[5] Apparently the effemination is developed chiefly by suggestion beginning in childhood. In Mexico and Brazil, there was the same custom. In the latter these men not only dressed as women, but devoted themselves solely to feminine occupations, and were despised. They were called *cudinas*, which means 'circumcised.'[6] Holder has

[1] "The Lushais at Home," *Pioneer Mail* (May, 1890), quoted in *The Indian Antiquary* (1903), xxxii. 413.

[2] J. Turnbull, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1800-1804* (1813), p. 382.

[3] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii. 461.

[4] G. H. von Langsdorf, *Voyages and Travels in various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803-1807* (1813-1814), ii. 47.

[5] U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage Round the World* (1814), p. 199.

[6] C. F. P. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens* (1867), i. 74.

studied the *boté* ('not man, not woman') or *burdash* ('half-man, half-woman,') of the North-West American tribes. The woman's dress and manners are assumed in childhood. Some of his evidence suggests that the greater number are cases of congenital sexual inversion. 'One little fellow, while in the Agency boarding-school, was found frequently surreptitiously wearing female attire. He was punished, but finally escaped from school and became a *boté* which vocation he has since followed.'[1] The *i-wa-musp*, man-woman, of the Indians of California, formed a regular social grade. Dressed as women, they performed women's tasks. 'When an Indian shows a desire to shirk his manly duties, they make him take his position in a circle of fire; then a bow and a "woman-stick" are offered to him, and he is solemnly enjoined . . . to choose which he will, and ever afterward to abide by his choice.'[2] Something analogous is recorded of the ancient Scythians and the occurrence of a θήλεια νοῦσος among them.[3]

"Some of the above cases, difficult to disentangle accurately, are not so much cases of congenital inversion as of general physical weakness. It is a remarkable aspect of certain types of barbarous society that the weak males are forced into the grade of women, and made to assume female dress and duties. Such a practice may, of course, induce some amount of acquired inversion. Payne has suggested that their survival was due to advancement in civilisation, and that later they formed a nucleus for the slave-class.[4]

"The occurrence of a masculine temperament in

[1] A. B. Holder, in *New York Medical Journal* (7th of December 1889).

[2] S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (1877), pp. 132-133.

[3] Herodotus, *History*, i. 105, iv. 67.

[4] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America* (1892-1899), ii. 16-17.

women is not uncommon in early culture. In some tribes of Brazil there were women who dressed and lived as men, hunting and going to war.[1] The same practice is found in Zanzibar,[2] and among the Eastern Eskimo.[3] Shinga, who became queen of Congo in 1640, kept fifty or sixty male concubines. She always dressed as a man, and compelled them to take the names and dress of women.[4] Classical antiquity has many similar cases of queens wearing men's armour in war, and of women fighting in the ranks, either temporarily, or permanently, as the Amazons.[5] The last case, on the analogy of the West African cases of women's regiments,[6] may be based on fact. In modern civilisation the practice of women dressing as men and following masculine vocations is no less frequent than was in barbarism the custom of effemination of men.[7]

"There remain to be considered two classes who form more or less definite social grades, and in some cases are distinguished by dress. These are old men and women.[8] After the menopause women, as the

[1] P. de Magalhaens Gandavo, *Histoire de la province de Sancta-Cruz, que nous nommons ordinairement le Brézil* [H. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique* (1837-1841), ii.] (1837), pp. 116-117.

[2] O. Baumann, "Conträre Sexual-Erscheinungen bei der Neger-Bevölkerung Zanzibars," *Verhandelungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1899), pp. 668-669.

[3] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (1870), p. 139.

[4] W. W. Reade, *Savage Africa* (1863), p. 364.

[5] Pausanias, *Descriptio Græciæ*, ii. 21; Appolonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, i. 712; Ptolemæus, *in* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 150, v. 33; Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, i. 19.

[6] Sir A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (1890), pp. 183, 290.

[7] On sexual inversion in women, see H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1909), ii. chapter iv. and Appendix F. (Countess Sarolta).

[8] See A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 207.

Zulus say, 'become men,' and the customs of *hlonipa*, or sexual taboo, do not apply to them any longer.[1] Often, instead of the dress of matrons, savage and barbarous women after the menopause dress as men. For instance, in Uripiv (New Hebrides), an old widow of a chief lived independently, and 'at the dances painted her face like a man, and danced with the best of them.'[2] Often they engage in war, consult with the old men, as well as having great influence over their own sex.

"Various enactments both in semi-civilised custom and in civilised law have been made against inversion of dress. A typical decision is that of the Council of Gangra (A.D. 370): 'If any woman, under pretence of leading an ascetic life, change her apparel, and instead of the accustomed habit of women, take that of men, let her be anathema.'[3] The point is noticeable that asceticism here, in the absence of a neutral garb, has recourse to the male dress. Such enactments and the modern laws on the subject are based on the Hebrew law (of *Deuteronomy*, xxii. 5) and on the Christian law (of *1 Corinthians*, xi. 6), but they embody a scientifically sound principle."

This brings us to the inversion of clothes at marriage.] Thomson says of Masai weddings: "Strangest of all, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, the bridegroom had actually to wear the garments of a *ditto* (girl) for one month; just imagine what fun it would

[1] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1868-1870), p. 440.

[2] B. T. Somerville, "Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 7.

[3] [S. Cheetham], "Dress," *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (1875-1880), i. 580.

be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes."[1] [In West Africa, certain tribes have the custom of the groom wearing his wife's petticoat for some time after marriage.[2] In the Bombay district the bride rides for two hours before marriage through the village, wearing men's clothes.][3] In ancient Cos, according to Plutarch, the bridegroom was dressed in women's clothes when he received his bride.[4] The story of Heracles and Omphale may have some similar origin. Plutarch connects the custom and the myth; but in the old fashion makes the myth the origin of the custom. On the other hand, in ancient Argos there was a law that brides "should wear beards when they slept with their husbands."[5] The Spartan bride was clothed in a man's cloak and shoes, and put on her bed in the darkness by her bridesmaid, to wait for the entrance of the groom.[6] It may be noted that there are some cases in European custom, as in Wales, where the bride is disguised in men's clothes.[7] [In several parts of Eastern Europe, the bride puts on her husband's hat.][8] The chief point in these is the disguise, and in

[1] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 258.

[2] M. H. Kingsley, *West African Studies* (1901), p. 131.

[3] J. Kohler, "Die Gewohnheitsrechte der Provinz Bombay," *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtwissenschaft* (1892), x. 76-77. Cp. J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (1901), p. 142.

[4] Plutarch, *Quæstiones Græcæ*, 58.

[5] *Id.*, *Mulierum Virtutes*, 245 E-F.

[6] *Id.*, *Lycurgus*, xv. 48. [See also L. R. Farnell, "Sociological hypotheses concerning the position of women in ancient religion," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1904), vii. 75-76, 89-90; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), p. 904; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiözer Bedeutung mit Auschluss der attischen* (1906), p. 372.]

[7] T. Moore, *Marriage Customs* (1814), p. 37.

[8] L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften* (1888), p. 93; K. Weinhold, *Die deutsche Frauen in dem*

origin the European customs may be nothing more. [Weinhold and Schroeder explain the custom as representing the entry of the wife into her husband's power, but this explanation would not cover those cases in which under the like circumstances the husband wears female clothes, as in the African examples quoted above, in Moroccan cases reported by Dr Westermarck,[1] and in the case of the Egyptian Jews, who, at marriage, put on women's clothes.][2]

We now reach the ceremonies which, more than any others, unite the man and the woman. The principle of their action is double or mutual inoculation, which renders the union innocuous on both sides. Having already fully described[3] this method of *ngia ngiampe*, we need here only repeat that it is the completion of ideas of contact. Mutual inoculation is, when looked at from the other side, union ; each of the two parties gives to the other a part of himself and receives from the other a part of him ; this part, on the principles of contact, may be, as it is in love-charms, a lock of hair, a piece of clothing, food that has or has not been touched, blood, and the like. This effects union by assimilating the one to the other, so as to produce somewhat of identity of substance. When the act is done simultaneously, its sacramental character is intensified. [As Dr Malinowski says, on the basis of the Australian evidence, . . . "it seems beyond doubt

Mittelalter (1882), i. 379 ; Baron I. *and* Baroness O. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (1871), p. 36 ; H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit mit Besondrer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz* (1914), pp. 129 *et seq.*

[1] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914), *passim*, especially pp. 25-27.

[2] I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (1896), p. 193.

[3] [Above, i. 287, 300 *et seq.*]

clear that the rudimentary ceremonies . . . such as exchange of fire-sticks, placing of feathers, joining of hands publicly, etc., had some inherent force and an importance as sanctions. They were a form of sacrament."][1] The union thus effected has, in accordance with the ideas behind it, a most binding force, each party as having given part of himself into the other's keeping is thereby bound, and as having received part of the other has thereby a hold over the other; and the act is the materialised expression of a desire for union, identical in principle with physical contact, especially with contact in love. It sums up and recapitulates the whole cycle of conceptions as to human relations, which are latent in human nature.

First we find the very general ceremony of joining hands and the like. Here mere mutual contact fulfils the union. It is a ceremonial pre-representation of the actual union in marriage, assisting that union by making it safe and by making it previously, and as it were objectively. In Fiji, the chief marriage ceremony is the joining of hands,[2] as it is amongst the modern Egyptians,[3] and many another people, including ourselves. The Puttooas tie the thumbs of the pair together.[4] The Egyptian bride and groom stand face to face, grasp each other's right hands and press the thumbs together, a handkerchief being put over the clasped hands.[5] [Legal records dating back to the sixteenth century show

[1] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), p. 61; cp. *ibid.*, p. 307.

[2] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-42* (1845), iii. 91.

[3] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 200.

[4] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (1882), p. 93.

[5] E. W. Lane, *op. cit.*, i. 200.

cases in which the joining of hands was regarded as a promise of marriage.[1] The Roman *dextrarum conjunctio* is to be compared,[2] as are the uses of betrothal and wedding rings.[3] The chief points in the English practices at this time are well summed up in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, where the Priest is describing the marriage of Olivia and Sebastian :

> "A Contract of eternall bond of loue,
> Confirm'd by mutuall ioynder of your hands,
> Attested by the holy close of lippes,
> Strengthened by enterchangement of your rings."][4]

A curious example of the close connection the pair sometimes have with their attendant sponsors, combined with ideas of sexual solidarity, is from the Bondei. The bride and groom hold hands, each takes his and her *kungwi* by the hand, each *kungwi* holds the hand of a child, the male *kungwi* that of a boy, and the female that of a girl.[5]

[Further modes of mutual contact are the pressing together of the heads of the pair, kissing, and the like.] The Andamanese marriage ceremony is this : the bride-groom is made to sit down on the bride's legs, which

[1] H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit mit besondrer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz* (1914), pp. 112 *et seq.* ; O. Opet, *Brauttradition und Konsensgespräch in mittelalterlischen Trauungsritual* (1910), pp. 81-82. As to the whole subject, see H. Siegel, "Der Handschlag und Eid nebst den verwandten Sicherheiten für ein Versprechen im deutschen Rechtsleben," *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe des Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1894), CXXX. vi.

[2] A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* (1853), pp. 37 *et seq.* Cp. Homer, *Iliad*, i. 440, 445 ; *Tobias*, vii. 13-20.

[3] See below, ii. 137.

[4] W. Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 167-170. Cp. C. L. Powell, *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653 : a Study of Matrimony and Family Life* (1917).

[5] G. Dale, "An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bondei Country," *J.A.I.* (1896), xxv. 199.

are, sometimes forcibly, straightened out for the purpose.[1] The pressing together of two things is an obvious method of union and of inoculation ; and the marriage ceremony is curiously paralleled by the Andamanese method of making a boy at initiation "free" of a forbidden food, pig, for instance. A pig is pressed down upon him, and brought into contact with most of his person.[2]

Another method of joining the pair together is by throwing a garment over them to cover them both ; the same method has been noticed,[3] as applied to the joining of hands. This is done by the Hovas.[4] In Tahiti, the pair were enveloped in a cloth.[5] So in the South-East of Borneo,[6] in North Nias,[7] and amongst the Battas of Sumatra.[8] One would expect to find cases of double inoculation by means of dress, and such cases have been noted.[9] This method of union is a common phenomenon in love-practice, and when a modern 'Arry and 'Arriet, exchange hats, the fact is no coincidence, but is due to the same principle inherent in the human consciousness. To the same order of ideas belongs an Andamanese custom. "They address young married people in a strange way, calling the husband by the name of the wife." [10]

[1] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 137.

[2] *Ibid.*, xii. 135. [Cp. E. S. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience* (1910), pp. 86-87.]

[3] [Above, ii. 118.]

[4] J. Sibree, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 41.

[5] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1859), i. 117.

[6] F. Grabowsky, "Die *Orangbukit* oder Bergmenschen von Mindai in Südost-Borneo," *Das Ausland* (1885), lviii. 785.

[7] H. Sundermann, in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (1884), xi. 443.

[8] H. N. van der Tuuk, *Bataksch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek* (1861), *s.v.*, "Abis."

[9] [Above, ii. 101 *et seq.*]

[10] E. H. Man, *op. cit.*, xii. 129.

The commonest of all marriage ceremonies of union is eating and drinking together. This mutual inoculation by food is the strongest of all ties of the *ngia ngiampe* sort, and breaks the most important of sexual taboos, that against eating together. Eating food together produces identity of substance, of flesh, and thereby introduces the mutual responsibility resulting from eating what is part of the other, and giving the other part of oneself to eat, each has the other in pledge, and each is in pawn to the other; any ill-feeling later, or sin, will produce bad results between the pair. The closest union is produced with the closest of responsibilities. Its binding force has been already traced to its origin, as is shown by the Loango custom, that the bride and groom must make a full confession of their sins at the marriage ceremony, else they will fall ill when eating together.[1] The practice is, of course, identical with those we have surveyed[2] in connection with hospitality, the sharing of "bread and salt," a large class of love-charms, and acts of *ngiampe*. It goes back to the animal expression of sympathy by contact and by a gift of food. The practice has nothing to do originally with transferring the groom or the bride to the other's kin; food produces flesh, and flesh is connected with blood, but the "tie of blood" is an inference not very prominent in early thought, the tie of eating together is recognised earlier both in practice and in theory. The bride and groom become "one flesh" but this is union of two individuals only; it is only late in culture, and then but rarely, that kinship assumes such superiority over individualism. For instance, the exogamous Melanesians say that the

[1] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an die Loango-Küste* (1874-1875), i. 172.

[2] [Above, i. 287 *et seq.*]

wife never becomes one of the husband's clan, but is "at the door," "half-way across."[1] The pair are brought into a close relation, but not into relationship, although in primitive thought the latter is a relation. The theory that the "blood covenant" and the similar marriage ceremony are intended to cause the blood of the tribe to flow in the veins of the new member, is based on late legal fictions. Exchange of blood is commoner between lovers than as a marriage ceremony, and lovers are not likely to think of tribal union; the act in Amboina, for instance, is regarded as a real sacrament of affection.[2] Also, on the theory relatives by marriage should not marry as they do. Again, are all the cases where husbands and wives do not eat together to be explained by the fact that, owing to exogamy, they are of a different tribe? Robertson Smith made a further suggestion that it was because they were of different totems, and therefore had a different system of forbidden food;[3] but the latter system is rarely applied to marriage. This theory of tribal communion involves too many inconsistencies, and we need some explanation more in accordance with human nature and with primitive thought. Well, as to this sex-taboo and marriage ceremony alike, exogamy rarely implies that the husband and wife are of different tribes. They more often than not are of different families only, and often cousins. Again, brothers and sisters are often forbidden to eat together. They are actually of the same family, of the same totem and

[1] R. H. Codrington, "Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia," *J.A.I.* (1881), x. 314.

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 41.

[3] W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885), p. 312.

of the same tribe. What does the taboo imply but sex? Lastly, it has been overlooked that in most cases the person only is added to the tribe, namely, the new wife or the new husband. This being so, it should not be necessary, if the idea is simply to make that person a member of the tribe, for more to be done than that he or she only should eat some tribal food or drink some tribal blood; but in most cases the other party also eats and drinks—why? To cause the tribal blood of the stranger's tribe to flow in his or her veins. This seems supererogatory. It may be said, the idea is to knit the two tribes together, but that is another story. Here we will only observe that primarily it does nothing of the kind, and that the theory breaks down before such cases as the following, in which the ceremony has for its sole object this knitting together of two tribes. The ceremonial communion by which two tribes or villages in Ceram and Wetar form alliance is intended to join them together for mutual help in war.[1] It will be allowed that such covenants form as important a bond, for treachery is thereby neutralised, as that made by an inter-marriage. Now, after this ceremony, it is expressly forbidden for them to inter-marry. Here we may remember that married couples do not always live together as such, but, as has been shown,[2] often do not eat together. On the present theory, this apparent contradiction and the curious result of the Ceramese and Wetarese tribal covenants, both receive a satisfactory explanation.

The offering of a gift of food, which is part of the biological basis of the custom, is often used as a proposal

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), pp. 128-129, 446-447.

[2] [Above, i. 199-214.]

of marriage. In Halmahera[1] and Borneo[2] a proposal is made by offering *betel* to the girl. She shows her acceptance by receiving it. In Samoa the suitor offers her a basket of bread-fruit; or he asks her parents for her hand. If they are friendly and eat with him, his addresses are sure to be favourably received.[3] Here is seen the ordinary use of the method as a test of friendliness. The very common practice of a love-gift often passes into a proposal of marriage. This marriage rite may indeed be described as a crystallisation of the love-charm of exchange of food. [This is illustrated by the following examples of the European practices. In Switzerland, if a youth and a girl fall in love, on the Easter Monday after they publicly drink together in order to inform the world at large of their love and to warn off others who might wish to approach the girl.[4] This ceremony was considered legally binding in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as is shown by legal records.[5] Thus in 1701 Emery sued Groby, with the result that the latter was ordered "to accomplish the promise of marriage made by him to the said Emery, accompanied and confirmed by all the circumstances practised in similar cases, to the point of having drunk together in the name of marriage, by mixing of wine in one glass with that in the other, in the accustomed manner, in the presence of relatives, and having received from one and another

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 75.

[2] S. St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (1862), i. 54, 161.

[3] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-42* (1845), ii. 138.

[4] J. F. Franz, *Zwinglis Geburtsort* [1819], p. 174.

[5] H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit mit besondrer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz* (1914), pp. 94-96.

the customary congratulations."[1] This practice was forbidden by the Church ; thus, in an ordinance of 1541 it was ordered that all promises of marriage should be made honestly and in the fear of God, and not dissolutely nor in a light frivolous manner, as when only offering a glass to drink together.[2] In France there was a legal maxim conveniently rhymed, thus :

> "Boire, manger et coucher ensemble
> C'est mariage ce me semble."[3]

In Italy the matrimonial agent fills a glass with wine, the bride and groom each drinking half of it.[4] The following passage occurs in the seventeenth-century comedy, *The Widdow :*

"I *Suiter.* Stay, stay, stay,
You broke no gold between you?
Val[*eria*]. We broke nothing, Sir.
I *Suiter.* Nor drunk to one an other?
Val. Not a drop Sir.
I *Suiter.* Y'ar sure of this you speak?
Val. Most certain Sir.
I *Suiter.* Be of good comfort wench, Ile undertake then
At my own charge to overthrow him for thee."[5]

[1] H. Bächtold, *op. cit.*, p. 96, quoting *Bulletin du glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande*, ix. 36 ; *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, i. 74, 168. Cp. A. Roget, *Histoire du peuple de Genève depuis le Réforme jusqu'à l'Escalade* (1870-1883), ii. 30 ; J. Simonnet, "L'état des personnes et l'état civil dans l'ancien droit bourguignon," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (1867), xiii. 554.

[2] A. L. Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1846), i. 347.

[3] C. Du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (1883-1887), *s.v.*, "Potare."

[4] D. Provenzal, *Usanze e feste del popolo italiano* (1912), p. 110.

[5] Ben Johnson [*sic*], J. Fletcher *and* T. Middleton, *The Widdow* (1652), II. i. p. 18.

But the learned Joseph Strutt knew of no other example in England of drinking together as a promise of marriage.][1]

At marriage there are some interesting variations. In the Duke of York Islands a cocoanut is broken over the heads of the pair, and its milk poured over them.[2] Amongst the Koosa Kaffirs the relatives of the groom hand milk to the bride, reminding her that it is from the cows which belong to the bridegroom. Of this milk she may not drink while the bridegroom is her suitor only, but now she is to drink it, and from this moment the union is indissolubly concluded. The people shout, "She drinks the milk! She hath drunk the milk!"[3] This case, of course, is one-sided inoculation; the bride eats the bridegroom's food, that is, she eats his substance in both senses of the word. At weddings, in Ceramlaut, the bride does not appear, being hidden in her chamber; the bridegroom eats with her people.[4] In Amboina, an old woman puts "food of the house" (the wedding being in the bridegroom's dwelling) in the bride's mouth.[5] The South Celebes bridegroom is offered the *betel*-box of his bride, from which he takes some *betel*.[6] In Ceram the bride eats a male opossum, and the bridegroom a female of the same animal.[7]

[1] J. Strutt, *A Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc., of the Inhabitants of England* (1775-1776), iii. 155.

[2] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 290.

[3] H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* (1812-1815), i. 262.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 172.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[6] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdrage tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), p. 30.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[We come now to the cases in which husband and wife eat together as a sign of or in connection with their marriage.] In ancient Rome at marriage by *confareatio*, the bride and groom ate together *panis farreus*, in the presence of the *Flamen Dialis* and *Pontif ex Maximus*.[1] [In Greece, the food similarly partaken of was a sesamum-cake.][2] Eating together is a common marriage custom amongst European peasants. [In the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine a youth who covets a girl takes an apple, and says :

> "M'aimes-tu ? Ne m'aimes-tu pas ?
> Si tu m'aimes, mords dans mon mias ! "

Should the girl do so, the affair is concluded.[3] In the Haut-Vosges this saying is met with : "Quand on a partagé le pain et le sel, en pareille circonstance, on ne fait plus qu'une famille."[4] On the 13th of August 1403, Richard de La Porte sued the widow of Monin Meorisot, because she had promised to marry him and now refused to do so. During the trial of the cause he addressed her thus : ". . . vous savez les parolles qui sont de mariage entre vous et mois ; vous venietes en ma maison, et [je] vous donney une pomme par loiaulté de mariage, et vous la preistes et la mangeastes, et pour ce, je vous annonce et somme que nous accomplissions l'un de nous envers l'autre les convenances dudit mariage. . . ."[5]

[1] Gaius, *Institutionum juris civilis commentarii*, i. 108 *et seq.*

[2] A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* (1853), p. 107.

[3] A. Orain, *Folk-lore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine* (1897), i. 170.

[4] L. F. Sauvé, *Le Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges* (1889), p. 83. This saying should perhaps be printed as a couplet.

[5] J. Simonnet, "L'état des personnes et l'état civil dans l'ancien droit bourguignon," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (1867), xiii. 552.

In Germany the bridal pair eat off the same plate.[1] At one time this custom must have been badly abused, to judge by the following passage from the work made famous in Coverdale's translation as *The Christian State of Matrimony*: " . . . after the handfastyng & makyng of the contracte/ the church goyng shulde not be differred to longe/ lest the wicked sowe his vngracious sede in the meane season. Likewise the wedding (& coabitatiō of the parties) ought to be begōne with god/ & with ernest prayer of the whole church or congregaciō. But in to this dishe hath the deuell put his foote/ & myngled it with mony wicked vses & customes. For in some places ther is such a maner/ well worthy to be rebuked that at the handfastynge there is made a great feast & superfluous bācket/ & euen the same night are the two hādfasted persones brought & layed together/ yee [yea] certayne wekes afore they go tot [sic] the church."[2] There is other evidence to show that these feasts were regarded as marriage rites.][3] In Scandinavia the couple used to drink from the same cup.[4] In South Slavonia the bride eats half an apple and gives the other half to the bridegroom.[5] A Servian bride ate with her husband on the wedding-day, the first and last occasion in her life on which she ate with a man.[6] In Russia the bride and groom drank from one cup.[7]

[The Hindu bride and bridegroom, of whatever

[1] A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (1900), p. 560.

[2] [H. Bullinger], *The Christen state of Matrimonye* (1541), ff. xlviii *verso*-xlix *recto*.

[3] H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit* (1914), p. 105.

[4] L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten* (1888), p. 84.

[5] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (1885), pp. 276, 459.

[6] Baron I. *and* Baroness O. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (1871), p. 81.

[7] L. von Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 84. [Cp. *ibid.*, p. 82.]

rank and caste, eat together on the occasion of their marriage.][1] Sontal couples fast on the wedding-day, but after the *sindur dan* they eat together. This is the first and last time she eats with a man.[2] Amongst the Gonds and Korkus the garments of the pair are tied together, and they interchange things and eat together.[3] Amongst the Larkas rice and meat are offered to the bride, "by partaking of which she becomes of her husband's caste." Later, a cup of beer is given to each, these are mingled and the pair drink; this "completes the marriage."[4] In the valleys of the Hindoo Koosh the marriage ceremony is that the pair eat together a cake of bread.[5] The Khyoungtha bride and groom are tied together, and fed by the priest with rice, each receiving seven alternate helpings.[6] Amongst the Chukmas the pair are tied together, and in that position they feed each other, the best man and bridesmaid guiding their hands.[7] In Dardistan the pair eat together, this being the marriage ceremony.[8] In Ceylon the pair have their little fingers tied together. They then eat out of the same dish, "to show they are now of equal rank."[9] [In Japan the bride and bridegroom drink together a certain number of cups of wine.][10]

[1] J. E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home* (1908), pp. 111-112.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), p. 216. [Cp. Sir G. Banerjee, *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana* (1915), pp. 254 *et seq.*]

[3] J. Forsyth, *The Highlands of Central India* (1871), p. 149.

[4] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (1882), p. 67.

[5] J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh* (1880), p. 79.

[6] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (1870), p. 129.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[8] E. C. Cox, "The Police of the Bombay Presidency," *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* (1888), v. 153.

[9] J. Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon* (1840), i. 331.

[10] L. W. Kūchler, "Marriage in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (1885), xiii. 115.

In the Kingsmill Islands the pair sit on a new mat, and the priest presses their foreheads together, and sprinkles their faces with water. They then eat together some fish and bread-fruit.[1] In the Manuahiki Islands the priest gave the man a cocoanut to drink and he, after sipping the milk, gave it to the woman and she drank.[2] In Fiji the marriage ceremony was the eating by the pair out of the same dish.[3] In Mangaia the marriage ceremony was that bride and groom ate together.[4] In New Guinea the pair chew *betel* together.[5] In the Kei Islands the young couple eat together and exchange *betel;* this forms the wedding ceremony.[6] In Timor they join hands and eat together.[7] When the Babar bridegroom has found his bride, after the search in the dark, his friend places their heads together, and then the pair eat together out of the same dish.[8] The young couple in Timorlaut eat together out of one dish at the wedding.[9] In Ceram, after these words are repeated by an elder, "what the husband wishes the wife must wish, and what the wife wishes the husband must also wish, and let them not forget their parents," the couple eat together.[10] Amongst the Topantunuasu of Celebes the pair are placed on one mat, and the bridegroom places his right leg on the

[1] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-42* (1845), v. 101.

[2] G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (1884), p. 276.

[3] T. Williams *and* J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (1858), i. 170.

[4] W. W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* [1876], p. 63.

[5] C. B. H. von Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel* (1878), p. 455.

[6] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 236.

[7] S. Müller, *Reizen en onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel* (1857), ii. 258.

[8] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 351. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

left leg of the bride. They then eat rice together.[1] In Mindanao and Celebes, eating together is the ceremony of marriage, as also in Bali, Flores and the Sawu Islands.[2]

In Borneo eating together at marriage is sometimes varied by smoking the same cigarette.[3] In Rao the bride and groom sit together and eat rice from the same dish, "as a token of friendship."[4] In Tebing-Tinggi the pair eat together.[5] So in Ranau[6] and amongst the Orang-Mantra.[7] Eating together is the marriage ceremony in Palembang (Sumatra.)[8] The Batta bride and groom sit together and eat rice from the same dish.[9] In Nias the joining of hands is followed by eating together.[10] Similarly in the Malaccas,[11] and amongst the

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, "De Topantunuasu of Oorspronkelijke Volkstammen van Centraal Selebes," *Bijdrugen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1886), xxxv. 90.

[2] "Statistieke aanteekeningen over de Residentie Menado," *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indie* (1840), III. i. 122; R. van Eck, "Het Lot der Vrouw op Bali," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1872), xvi. 383; F. Blumentritt, "Die Mandayas," *Globus* (1883), xliii. 60; N. Graafland, *De Minahassa* (1869), i. 319; P. J. Veth, *Java* (1886-1907), i. 634; J. G. F. Riedel, "The Island of Flores or Pulau Bunga," *Revue coloniale internationale* (1886), ii. 70; *id.*, "The Sawu or Haawu Group," *Revue coloniale internationale* (1885), i. 308.

[3] S. St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (1862), pp. 50-51.

[4] A. Snackeij, "Berichten en Mededeelingen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1882), xxviii. 578.

[5] E. A. van Vloten, "De Ranau-districten in de residentie Palembang," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1873), *n.s.*, II. ii. 295

[6] H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago* (1885), p. 219.

[7] — Borie, "Notice sur les Mantras," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1861), x. 428.

[8] C. F. E. Praetorius, "Eenige Bijzonderheden omtrent Palembang," *De Indische Bij* (1843), i. 429.

[9] J. Roggeveen, "Dagverhaal der Ontdekkings-Reise," *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indie* (1839), II. ii. 179.

[10] C. B. H. von Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel* (1878), p. 38.

[11] J. Low, "The Laws of Mnûng Thai or Siam," *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (1847), i. 338.

Orang-Sakai of Perak.[1] At a Malay wedding, friends put in the hands of bride and bridegroom handfuls of rice and with this the two feed each other simultaneously.[2] In Madagascar bride and groom eat together, and thus become man and wife. It is "apparently a symbol of the future unity of their interests."[3] At Hova marriages the pair eat together, and then a *lamba* is thrown round them both.[4]

["In Morocco it is a very common custom that the pair partake of some food together before they have intercourse. Sometimes the bridegroom eats first and then puts some food into the bride's mouth,[5] and sometimes, among the Berbers of Southern Morocco, they both push a little food into each other's mouths."][6] Niam-niam women never eat with men, but at the marriage ceremony they eat with their husbands.[7] On the same occasion amongst the Sarae the pair eat together.[8] The Navaho couple ate maize-pudding from the same plate ;[9] [similarly amongst the Pawnee].[10] In Brazil the marriage ceremony of some tribes consists of the bride and groom drinking together.[11]

[In several of these cases the food shared by the bridal pair is an apple.] If we can isolate the folklore

[1] J. Low, "The Semang and Sakai Tribes of the Malay Archipelago," *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (1850), iv. 431.

[2] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 383.

[3] J. Sibree, *The Great African Island* (1880), p. 193.

[4] *Id.*, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 41.

[5] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914), p. 231.

[6] *Id.*, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 448.

[7] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (1873), ii. 28.

[8] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 384.

[9] W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo* (1857), p. 415.

[10] G. B. Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian* (1896), p. 46.

[11] W. C. von Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien* (1818), i. 96.

element in the story of Eve's apple, it seems most probable that some such love-practice or marriage rite as this is behind it. There is an unmistakable reference to sexual relations in the story, the serpent being the zoomorphic presentment of virility, which, as has been noticed,[1] is a widely spread way of explaining certain sexual phenomena. Further, there is the knowledge of evil as distinguished from the state of innocence, a fact curiously paralleled by the psychological analysis of the result of the *ngia ngiampe* relation, of which eating together is the most typical form. The symbolism of the apple, as found in Greek and Latin folklore, is of course later.[2]

Drinking wine is no substitute for a survival of drinking blood; each has the same effect, but wine is primarily liquid nourishment. The taking together of the Communion is in Catholic countries an essential part of the marriage ceremony. It is so in the English Church, according to the rubric. Some examples of drinking together have already been noticed.[3] In the island Romang the pair drink together out of one cup; this is the wedding ceremony.[4] [Among the Tipperahs "the girl's mother pours out a glass of liquor and gives it to her daughter, who goes and sits on her lover's knee, drinks half and gives him the other half; they afterwards crook together their little fingers."][5] Similar customs obtain among the Hos[6] and the

[1] [Above, i. 231 *et seq.*]

[2] [Cp. J. R. Harris, *Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults* (1919). As to the part played by the serpent in the fall of man, see Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (1918), i. 45 *et seq.*]

[3] [Above, ii. 117 *et seq.*]

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886). p. 460.

[5] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (1870), p. 202.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), p. 193.

Lepchas.[1] At marriages in Morocco the priest hands to the couple a glass of wine after blessing it, and each drinks of it. The glass is then smashed on the ground by the groom, "with a covert meaning that he wishes they may never be parted until the glass again becomes perfect."[2] [The same custom of breaking a vessel is widespread both in Europe and among the uncivilised races.][3] In China,[4] and in Korea,[5] the bridal pair drink wine out of two cups which are tied together by a red thread. Various national narcotics, sedatives and the like, are used in the same practice, as has been seen already.[6] A typical case is that of the Aru bride, who is carried to the wedding, the ceremonial part of which is the partaking together of *betel*.[7]

Drinking each other's blood has no real pre-eminence in early custom over other means of assimilation; blood is simply a part of one's self. Where the practice is followed, it is not relationship that is the result, but relation, the relation of *ngia ngiampe*, just as is effected by food and other vehicles of contact. It is rather a rare custom, far more rare than the blood covenant, and a corollary of the blood covenant between two tribes was actually found to be that they may not inter-marry. This was explained[8] in the account of *ngia ngiampe*. It is in fact commoner as used by lovers than as a marriage ceremony, and lovers are the last persons to think of

[1] Sir H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891), ii. 8.

[2] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (1876), p. 37.

[3] Cp. H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit* (1914), pp. 105 *et seq.*; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 459-462.

[4] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 86.

[5] W. E. Griffis, *Corea* (1882), p. 249.

[6] [Above, i. 289, ii. 124, 126, 130.]

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 262. [Cp. E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii. 455.]

[8] [Above, i. 296.]

tribal union. A common variation is anointing with blood. Amongst the Bengal tribes the marriage ceremony is the *sindur dan*, in which the groom marks the bride's forehead with red lead. This is possibly, but not certainly, a substitute for blood.[1] The Birhor ceremony is, that bride and groom smear each other with blood drawn from their little fingers.[2] The Kewat ceremony of marriage is the *sindur dan*, after which blood is drawn from the hands of bride and groom and mingled with food, which is then eaten by the pair.[3] Similarly amongst the Rajpoots.[4]

The same principle of relation, of *ngia ngiampe*, more subconscious indeed, but still inherent and always liable to pass from potentiality to actuality, are behind the practice of feasting at weddings. We have found this kind of thing in connection with Saturnalia festivals. So at marriage the friends of both feel somewhat bound together by the union of the pair, and expression is given to this by eating and drinking together. Here indeed the new member is united to the family, so far as sharing in a feast effects this. Just as two men nowadays are more or less brought into friendly union by taking wine together or "having a drink," and members of societies are united in closer sympathy by a dinner or a feast, so the husband and wife are joined together by communion, and to some extent also their friends by mutual feasting. These happen to be different families, but rarely different tribes ; their union, however, is not primarily a fiction of bloodkinship, but

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1892), pp. 160, 216, 252, 273, 321.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[3] Sir H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891), i. 456.

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 189. [Cp. E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii. 445-448, 466-467.]

a more general relation of friendliness, as persons who have the same interests and a mutual acquaintance in the happy bride or bridegroom, but, originally, as persons who eat together. As to other expressions of joy and good feeling, we may say of wedding dances what an old Motu-Motu man said to Mr Chalmers: "No drums are beaten uselessly, there are no dances that are merely useless."[1]

The same ideas are behind the common practice of gifts from bride to groom and from groom to bride, and between the friends and relatives of the pair; just as they are behind the identical practices of love-gifts and gifts from man to man. A gift means far more to primitive man than it does to us; it is part of himself. A Patagonian chief is prevented by custom from entering the tent of another till presents have been exchanged.[2] This case shows the principles of *ngia ngiampe*. Amongst the Khakyens there seems to be little more of marriage ceremonial than interchange of presents; this is essential, and really seems to constitute marriage.[3] The importance of gifts in this connection is shown by the Kaffir custom that the bride may not eat food from the bridegroom's *kraal* until the presents have duly arrived.[4] The marriage gifts in South Celebes between bride and groom are very numerous and most of them are variously symbolical of marriage; amongst them are ginger-roots which have grown together.[5] In Japan the sending of presents to the bride by the groom is

[1] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (1881), p. 181.

[2] G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians* (1873), p. 184.

[3] J. W. Anderson, *Notes of Travel in Fiji and New Caledonia* (1880), p. 30.

[4] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 54.

[5] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), pp. 15-18, 22-26.

one of the most important parts of the marriage ceremony. When done, the contract is complete, and neither party can draw back.[1] It is not, as Dr Westermarck thinks,[2] a relic of a previous custom of marriage by purchase ; the latter is, on the contrary, a development from this. [The exchange of gifts as a method of union is well illustrated by the customs connected with rings, and the like. Throughout the world it has been a general practice to exchange rings, coins, and so on, at betrothal and marriage. The value of these objects is of no importance, in Europe, indeed, special tokens were manufactured for this purpose. Sometimes a ring was given by a man only, as in Rome,[3] and this practice is also found in the Middle Ages,[4] but it always has been and still is far more general for these rings to be exchanged. The evidence for this in Europe goes back to the thirteenth century.[5] As we have already seen,[6] such exchanges were considered binding, as is further evidenced by this German proverb :

"Ist der Finger beringt,
Ist die Jungfer bedingt."[7]

[1] L. W. Küchler "Marriage in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (1885), xiii. 120.

[2] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1901), p. 395. [Cp. *ibid.* (1921), ii. 400.]

[3] Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xxxiii. 12.

[4] H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit* (1914), p. 155.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 157 *et seq.* [6] [Above, ii. 119.]

[7] E. Du Méril, *Des formes du mariage et des usages populaires qui s'y rattachaient surtout en France pendant le moyen age* (1861), p. 11 *n.*[2]. See further on this subject, H. Bächtold, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 *et seq.* ; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 443 ; William Jones, *Finger-ring Lore* (1877), pp. 275 *et seq.* ; G. Suardi, *Intorno gli anelli e specialmente l'anello nuziale* (1844) ; E. Lilek, "Familien und Volksleben in Bosnien und in der Herzegowina," *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (1900), vi. 56 ; T. S. Vilovsky, *Die Serben im Südlichen Ungarn, in Dalmatien Bosnien und der Herzegovina* (1884), p. 177 ; C. Wachsmuth, "Sitten und Aberglauben der Neugriechen bei Geburt und Tod," in *Das alte Griechenland im enuen* (1864), p. 82.

This whole problem is shown in a clear light by the following eighteenth-century custom reported from Rives in the Savoy. Here St Peter's day was preferred for betrothals, and on this day, "Le jeune homme et la jeune fille entraient, les pieds nus, dans l'eau ; les assistants récitaient un Pater et un Ave ; la jeune fille appuyait sa main droite contra la main gauche du jeune homme, puis ils plongaient ces deux mains dans l'eau et ramenaient ensemble une pierre que le père du jeune homme, ou à défaut un de ses parents, cassait en deux, et dont il remettait une moitié à chacun des fiancés ; alors tous s'écriaient : 'Que Dieu les éclaire et que S. Pierre leur soit en aide.' Ces fiançailles n'étaient que provisoires et dites d'attente on d'épreuve : elles devenaient définitives et irrévocables si, à la S. Pierre suivante le jeune homme et la jeune fille, entrant de nouveau dans l'eau, en puisaient un peu dans leur main et ses donnaient mutuellement à boire."[1] In this custom are brought together many of the rites of union which have been discussed, such as the ceremonial use of water, the joining of the hands, the breaking and sharing of a stone and the giving each other to drink, and there seems to be no reason for singling out any one of these items for an explanation special to itself.]

The explanation of bride-gifts is really the explanation of what is mis-called marriage by purchase. In many peoples, of course, as commercial instincts ripen and daughters are found to have their price, the old idea fades into the "light of common day," and buying and selling become connected with marrying and giving in marriage. But originally it was not so. The so-called bride-price was originally of the same class

[1] A. van Gennep, "De quelques rites de passage en Savoie," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (1910), lxii. 192.

as the *kalduke*, a pledge, a part of one's self, given to another and received from him. Buying and selling with primitive peoples have not the same sordid connotation as they now have. The principle involved is more personal, more religious ; there is less of price and more of value. As showing something of the early idea of payments and purchase, the following case is useful. When two villages in the New Hebrides make peace, the offending village is mulcted in a sum of pigs. There is, however, a sham fight, in which the village which has to pay is defeated, thus giving a pretext for the payment.[1] [M. van Gennep believes bridal gifts to be compensation to the family, village or clan for the loss of a member.[2] This is also substantially the view of Dr Westermarck.[3] But this theory is open to a fatal objection, namely, that according to it, under a system in which the husband leaves his own home to live in his wife's, the payment ought to be made by the wife or her family to the husband or his family. Whereas Dr Westermarck is able to adduce only a single example of the purchase of a husband, and that example an artificial one : "In India, the difficulty of finding a husband for a daughter has led to an undisguised purchase of bride-grooms."[4] There are also to be considered the facts that the gifts are often of no intrinsic value, that there are often equally valuable return gifts, that the gift is often manifestly formal, as among the Vāghers, a depressed class in Kathiawar (India), who pay a nominal

[1] B. T. Somerville, "Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 17.

[2] A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (1909), p. 170. Cp. R. Corso, "I Doni Nuziali," *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie* (1911), ii. 230, 251, 254 *n.*[1].

[3] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 393 *et seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 431.

sum to the father of the bride however rich he may be,[1] and that the giving and exchange of gifts, as Bächtold has pointed out,[2] is not limited to the occasion of marriage.]

In the Banks Islands, when all the "purchase-money" has been paid, the women come forward and refuse to let the bride go until a further sum is put down.[3] The *harta*, or bride-price, amongst the Minahassas of Celebes "should not be considered as a price, it has rather the nature of a compensation paid to the bride's family for the loss of one of its working and child-producing members."[4] Amongst the Todas, the marriage contract "resembles, but is not, an act of barter."[5] As to the bride-price amongst the Kaffirs, a good observer states that "the transaction is not a mere purchase. The cattle paid for the bride are divided amongst the male relations, and are considered by law to be held in trust for the benefit of herself and children, should she be left a widow. She can accordingly legally demand assistance from any of those who have partaken of her dowry."[6] At Kaffir betrothals, a goat is killed at the *kraal* of the suitor, or if he has no goat, a present of beads is made to the girl. Until the one or the other is done, she may not eat at the *kraal*, where she remains a few days. Besides the cattle he has to "pay" for his wife, he must give a cow to the bride's mother; this is called *ukutu*, referring to

[1] B. A. Gupte, *A Prabhu Marriage* (1911), p. 71.

[2] H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit* (1914), p. 192.

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (1891), p. 237.

[4] S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes* (1889), p. 282.

[5] W. E. Marshall, *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas* (1873), p. 211.

[6] J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), p. 53; J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 270.

the thongs made from ox-hide and hung round the bride during infancy. This ox is thus "repaid" by the groom. Again, there is "the ox of the girl" to be slain at the marriage; this is given by the bride's father to the groom. It is also called "the ox which has a surplus," and represents these ideas: (1) it stands for the value of the girl, (2) it gives an assurance to the recipient that the spirit of the father, *I-hloze*, will not after his death come to disturb the place where his daughter lives, and (3) that his girl will bear many children. On arriving at the bridegroom's *kraal* after sunset, she gives him a present of beads, but does not speak; she receives also a present from him which she hands to her brother. Next day, the friends of the bride go to the *kraal* to demand from the bridegroom the ox called *um-goliswa*. The groom says he has no ox, and is thereupon informed that the bride will be taken away. After remaining concealed for a time, he now tries to run away, but is prevented by a company of women, a smile on his face showing that his efforts are merely formal. The *um-goliswa* is now brought and given to the bride's friends. The father of the bride delivers a lecture to the groom, on the duty of behaving well to her, and warns him of the impropriety of beating his wife. Then the slaughter of "the ox of the girl" takes place; this is the "fixing point of the ceremony," previously the bride could be removed.[1] This account brings out clearly the religious importance of bride-gifts, and is instructive as showing the identity of the "purchase-money" with these. It is to be noted lastly that there underlies the practice an idea that "the ox of the girl" is a substitute

[1] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), pp. 54, 71-72.

for her, and the ox of the bridegroom a substitute for him, securing safety, both religious and practical, to both parties. The Damara custom may be compared; a special part of the ox sacrificed at a wedding may only be eaten by young girls. With the fat therefrom the bridesmaids deck the hair of the bride.[1] There is also to be noted the sexual shyness on the part of the bridegroom, as shown by the formal attempt to escape.

To conclude this sketch of marriage ceremonies, it is to be observed that the reason why marriage ritual is often excluded from religion proper by enquirers, and why much of it is apparently secular, is precisely the fact that the subconscious fear of the one sex towards the other is here so liable to emerge into consciousness, when a man and a woman stand face to face. Much of religion begins with, as it returns to, human personalities.

[1] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1879), i. 49.

SECONDARY TABOO

CHAPTER XV

HUSBAND, WIFE AND MOTHER-IN-LAW

Husband and wife are thus in the relation of *ngia ngiampe*, emphasised by its being a sexual form ; they have been brought into that relation by a special ceremony of union, and remain in it both as a result of that ceremony, of which the permanence of union is not the least important object, and as a result of living together, which is itself a potential mode of *ngia ngiampe*. This continuous contact introduces once more all the original dangers of sexual taboo, as it were in spite of the act of *ngia ngiampe ;* in other words, the factors of contact which produce the taboo remain, after the taboo is broken by union, so as to give that union its sanction or binding force. The resulting taboo, that of responsibility, is thus emphasised by the original ideas of contact. We saw how this new taboo of responsibility arises, and that it is the psychological basis of altruism ; of this and of the original sexual taboos between husband and wife, which also now recur, not inconsistently, as a result of the *ngia ngiampe* relation, it is unnecessary to quote instances, but a few illustrations will be given to show how the mutual responsibility of married persons is based on the original ideas of contact. The duty resulting is primarily between husband and

wife, then between parents and children, and between the children themselves, secondarily between either of the married pair and those brought by the marriage into relation with each. Many details, such as the following, show how conscious application of the ideas of contact supplement such biological relations. A Zulu mother, when about to leave her baby for a few minutes, will squeeze her milk over its hands, breast and back, or spit on it, "as a protective charm" to ensure its safety during her absence.[1] Amongst the Maoris, if the mother's breasts give no milk, she and her husband are kept apart for a night, to allow the *karakia*, incantation, which has been employed as cure, to take effect.[2] In Luang Sermata, if a woman's children have died while being suckled, the next born is given to other people to be nursed.[3] Amongst the people of the Loango Coast, the bridegroom and the bride before the marriage ceremony have to confess their sins to the priest; if they fail to do so, or if either keep back anything, evil and misfortune "will result when they eat together."[4] This example is an excellent illustration of all these ideas. In South-East Africa a guilty wife may be forgiven, but the husband cannot live with her till a third party has been with her. If a guilty woman were to put salt in her husband's food, and he were to eat it, he would surely die; therefore many women ask a little girl to put in the salt.[5] We see here and in the following how the adhesive substance of guilt which

[1] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), p. 147.

[2] E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (1882), p. 30.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 327.

[4] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an die Loango-Küste* (1874-1875), i. 170, 172.

[5] J. Macdonald, "East Central African Customs," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 110.

may injure the wronged party is prevented from acting by the use of an intermediary. After divorce an Egyptian husband cannot legally take his wife again, till she has been married and divorced by another man. They employ a poor, ugly or blind man for this, called *moostahhill*. Many rich Turks keep a special black slave for this purpose, generally one who has not reached puberty.[1]

Amongst the Samoyeds, if birth is difficult, one suspects the woman of adultery.[2] Amongst the Druses, if a wife leaves her husband's abode without an injunction to return, this is equivalent to divorce. However willing both are to unite, they cannot come together till she has first been married to a third party, who must then divorce her; after this she can return.[3] Again, when a Chiquito man fell ill, they used to kill the wife, thinking her to be the cause of his sickness, and imagining when she was removed that he would recover.[4] Amongst the Krumen when a wife dies, the husband is believed to have caused her death by witchcraft.[5] In Congo tribes widows and widowers are similarly accused.[6] In Madagascar the widow is reviled and informed that it is her fault that her *Vintana*, fate, has been stronger than that of her husband, and that she "is virtually the cause of his death."[7] When a

[1] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 228.

[2] J. G. Georgi, *Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie* (1776), p. 14.

[3] G. W. Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon* (1855), p. 186.

[4] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (1784), ii. 264.

[5] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa* (1856), p. 115.

[6] [M. Laird *and* R. A. K. Oldfield, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (1837), ii. 278.]

[7] J. Sibree, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 45.

Zulu woman has lost her husband and is married by a brother or other man, the spirit of her late husband follows her continually. If she is pregnant and the spirit comes to her, she falls ill and miscarries. By placing in an ant-heap some spittle, collected in her mouth while dreaming of him, the ghost is laid.[1] In China it is believed that when members of a family are sick one after the other, there is a mysterious and injurious influence existing between, for example, husband and wife, or father and son.[2] In Samoa, when one was sick, the priest assembled all the family round the sick-bed, and made them confess their sins. "The requisition was always implicitly believed, and each one confessed everything he or she had ever at any time done. Whether it were theft, adultery, seduction, lying or invoking a curse upon the sick person, however long concealed, all was openly and with solemn contrition confessed."[3] Here is evident the idea of danger inherent in all contact, emphasised by the very closeness of the relation, in spite of the friendliness of a united life; it is to be compared with the Loango rule that husband and wife must confess their sins, else they will be injured by eating together.[4] Amongst the Samoyeds at a shaman's performances his wife "as an unclean thing, must keep out of the way."[5] In New Guinea when a man is taboo he lives apart from his wife, and his food is cooked by his sister.[6]

[1] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1868-1870), p. 161.

[2] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 143.

[3] W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences* (1866), p. 147.

[4] [See above, ii. 144.]

[5] V. M. Mikhailovskii, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 141.

[6] W. G. Lawes, "Ethnological Notes on the Motu, Koitapu and Koiari Tribes of New Guinea," *J.A.I.* (1879), viii. 370.

The same ideas are somewhat differently expressed in the following. In Timorlaut a married man's hair may not be cut, else his wife will die.[1] A Sarawak man will put himself under *pamali* to cure a sick child.[2] The conduct of one connected by contact reacts upon the other, when either is absent. No water may be boiled inside a Mahlemut house while the deer-hunt continues.[3] If a Hottentot goes out hunting, his wife kindles a fire. "She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky." She may throw water about instead ; if she gets tired, her servant must do it. If neglected, the same result follows.[4] When absent on a journey Acaxée men refrained from using salt ; they said : "Perhaps our wives are not behaving well in our homes and we shall die."[5] Amongst the Kaffirs, should a man's wife, while he is on a journey, anoint herself with the oil or fat in daily use, she will not only suffer herself but bring calamity upon her husband ; should she dream during his absence, she must offer a private gift for herself and her absent lord.[6] When a Malay is at war his pillows and sleeping-mat at home are kept rolled up. If any one else were to use them, the "absent warrior's courage would fail, and disaster would befall him." His wife and children may not have their hair cut during his

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 292

[2] H. Low, *Sarawak* (1848), p. 402.

[3] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (1870), p. 147.

[4] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam* (1881), p. 77.

[5] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), i. 581.

[6] J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1891), xx. 116.

absence.[1] Not only was the traveller obliged, according to the Wahua superstition, to abstain from baths during his absence, but even his family during the same period, while allowed to bathe the body, might not wash the head or face oftener than once in eighty days.[2] In East Central Africa while a woman's husband is absent on an expedition, she goes without anointing her head or washing her face ; she must not bathe, she scarcely washes her arms. She must not cut her hair ; her oil-vessel (chisasi) is kept full of oil till his return, and may be hung up in the house, or kept by the side of her bed.[3] In time of war, amongst the Tshi-speaking peoples, the wives of the men who are with the army paint themselves white, and decorate themselves with beads and charms, and make a daily procession through the town, invoking the protection of the gods for their absent husbands. "This ceremony is called *Mohbor-meh*, a word compounded of *mohbor*, 'pity,' and *meh*, 'me,' and which may be freely translated, 'Have mercy upon us!' Besides the daily procession, *Mohbor-meh* women, painted white from head to foot, dance publicly in the streets, uttering howls and shrieks, leaping and gesticulating, and brandishing knives and swords. On the day upon which a battle is expected to take place they run to and fro with guns, or sticks roughly carved to represent guns, and pierce green *paw-paws* with knives, in imitation of the foemen's heads. This ceremony is generally performed in a complete state of nudity, and frequently some of the principal women appear with two hen's eggs fastened above the *pudenda*. Any man, except the aged and infirm, who may be discovered in the town or village,

[1] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 524.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii. 392.

[3] D. Macdonald, *Africana* (1882), i. 81.

is at once assailed with torrents of abuse, and charged with cowardice, taunted with want of manliness, assaulted with sticks, and driven out of the town. *Mohbor-meh* women appear to be regarded in some respects as female warriors, who guard the town in the absence of the men."[1] The impersonation of the male sex is doubtless intended to complete identification, and so make sympathetic action more certain. In the Babar Islands, when the men are at war, the women must fast and abstain from sexual intercourse.[2] In Timorlaut, when a ship is at sea, the girls of the village are bound to sing and dance daily on the beach, by way of bringing the men back speedily.[3]

In other connections there are instructive cases like the following. The foreskin removed at the circumcision of an Arunta boy is swallowed by the younger brother of the initiate ; the idea is that it will strengthen him, and make him grow tall and strong. The blood is rubbed over his elder sisters, and they cut locks of his hair.[4] Here there is doubtless the intention of strengthening those with whom one is in a responsible relation, and perhaps the contact thus intensified helps to intensify the particular taboo of sex here involved. In the Central Australian tribes an important right and duty is the giving and receiving of hair. It is often given in return for a favour ; and the principle behind the custom has been already described.[5] A man's chief

[1] Sir A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (1887), pp. 226-227.

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 341.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[4] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 251.

[5] [Above, i. 141.]

supply comes from his mother-in-law ; he also gets hair from his son-in-law and brother-in-law.[1]

Marriage being an act of danger is on these principles tabooed between certain persons. As we saw[2] in Ceram marriage between different tribes is allowed, and even between "upper and lower classes," the only restriction being that villages which have performed the *pela* ceremony of eating together sacramentally, which necessitates alliance in war, may not intermarry.[3] The principle is well illustrated by this : in the islands Leti, Moa and Lakor, *Dere* and *Luli* are the protecting deities of the village ; the former is male, the latter female. They are the spirits of the founders of the village, and their lineal descendants are employed as go-betweens, *muani riesre* and *puata riesre*, between these gods and the villagers, procuring, for instance, help in sickness for the latter. If the *muani riesre* dies, his sister's son succeeds him ; the *puata riesre* is succeeded by her sister or daughter. Both man and woman have equal privileges, but they may never marry.[4]

Cases have already been cited[5] to show how a dangerous service produces a taboo of the *ngia ngiampe* species. The taboo between the operators and those operated upon in puberty ceremonies, is identical with the common taboos between men who have exchanged wives, between sponsors and god-children, and between a married person and the assistant in the act, and in each case it is one of duty and responsibility. The last-mentioned custom may be well illustrated from the Beni-Amer. When a wife quarrels with her husband and

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
[2] [Above, i. 296.]
[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 134.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 375.
[5] [Above, i. 302-303.]

seems inexorable, one of her bridesmaids is called in. She cannot resist this intervention, "for between the bride and the companions of the groom there exists an eternal friendship, which never fails, though they may not see each other."[1] The duty of natural affection similarly renders a brother and sister in New Caledonia most ready to help each other although they are taboo to each other,[2] and generally between husbands and wives the same result is regular, both for psychology and for religious custom.

The general principle that persons closely connected by contact must avoid dangerous contact, which would lead to personal as well as mutual harm, is illustrated by totemic customs. The Bakalai believe that if a man ate his totem, the women would miscarry, or give birth to animals of the totem kind.[3] The Omahas think that eating the totem, which is forbidden food, will cause sickness to the man's wife and children.[4] Here, as so often, a man's conduct affects his intimates, through the continuous contact he has with them.

The same conception of danger combined with intimacy appears very clearly in a Central Australian belief. A man is obliged to supply his wife's relatives with a certain amount of food ; but he is always cautious that these people should never see him eating, "else their smell would get into the food and make him ill."[5] The results of contact generally, of dangerous services and dangerous relations, are all taboos of the same order.

[1] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 325.

[2] V. de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie et ses habitants* (1862), p. 239.

[3] P. B. Du Chaillu, *Exploration and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (1861), p. 309.

[4] E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (1823), ii. 50.

[5] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 469.

Accordingly, we may decide that in primitive society, as now, individualism still shows itself above any connection of marriage or relationship. Owing to the taboo of personal isolation and egoism, all society, as such, is dangerous. The ties of intermarriage and of blood-kinship are special cases of *ngiampe*, and in early society they have not superseded this general conception of relationship.

There is perhaps no savage custom, if we except the couvade, which has so increased the gaiety of civilised nations as the common taboo between a man and his mother-in-law. Amongst early peoples, this custom forms a real part of the marriage system, and is a result of the *ngia ngiampe* relation of marriage. The taboo is also found between wives and their fathers-in-law, and, though far less commonly, between other relations by marriage, as between the husband and his sister-in-law, the wife and her brothers-in-law, and in a few cases irrespective of sex, but by far the commonest form is the mutual avoidance of husband and wife's mother. The mother-in-law almost assumes the *rôle* of a supernatural person. A Zulu swears by his mother-in-law.[1] When we examine complete accounts of the custom, it is clear that the prohibition is one of extraordinary strength and conceals no ordinary meaning. It also becomes evident that the relation is one of the *ngia ngiampe* sort, that it is a particularly intense expression of sexual taboo, and that the feelings concerned are religious in their character, the sentiment connected with the breaking of the rule being one of religious horror.

In many cases the avoidance begins, naturally

[1] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 101.

enough, with betrothal, as amongst the Bondei.[1] In the tribes of New South Wales there is a taboo between a man and the mother of his promised wife, but not so pronounced as it is after marriage.[2] In some Victorian tribes the girl's mother and aunts may not look at the suitor nor speak to him from betrothal to death. When they speak in each other's presence they have to use a "turn-tongue." He may never mention his mother-in-law's name.[3]

Some typical examples follow, in which various ideas of contact occur, and the connection with sexual taboo is seen. The Zulus system of *uku-hlonipa* is a network of sexual taboos; of this particular case the following account is given. "This is a very singular custom, and in its nature and tendencies presents insuperable difficulties to the introduction of civilised habits into the domestic circle, and especially to the exercise of those kindly offices which Christianity inculcates. By this strange custom, a daughter-in-law is required to *hlonipa* her father-in-law, and all her husband's male relations in the ascending line, that is, to be cut off from all intercourse with them. She is not allowed to pronounce their names even mentally. Hence this custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women. The son-in-law is placed under certain restrictions towards his mother-in-law. He cannot enjoy her society, or remain in the same hut with her, nor can he pronounce her name. The daughter-in-law must to a certain extent *hlonipa* her mother-in-law also."[4]

[1] G. Dale, "An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bondei Country," *J.A.I.* (1896), xxv. 198.

[2] A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *J.A.I.* (1885), xiv. 353.

[3] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (1881), p. 29.

[4] J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), pp. 95-96.

Another account states that the husband must not speak to, look at, or eat with his mother-in-law, and neither husband nor wife may utter the names of each other's relatives. "This is *hlonipa*. When a mother-in-law meets her son-in-law, she will not speak to him, she will hide her head and the breasts that suckled his wife. If she meets him on the road, where she cannot turn away, and where she has no covering, she will tie a piece of grass round her head as a sign that she *hlonipas*. All correspondence has to be carried on between third parties. . . . A woman does not mention her father-in-law, and she hides from her son-in-law. She says it is not right that he should see the breasts which suckled his wife."[1] Amongst the Sarae[2] and Barea[3] also the mother-in-law conceals herself from her son-in-law.

Amongst the Fijians "a free flow of the affections between members of the same family is prevented by the strict observance of national or religious customs, imposing a most unnatural restraint. Brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, fathers and sons-in-law, mothers and daughters-in-law, brothers and sisters-in-law are thus severally forbidden to speak to each other or to eat from the same dish."[4] This account is not very explicit, but is important as connecting these customs with the taboos between husbands and wives and between brothers and sisters. Mr Curr, speaking of the mutual avoidance of son-in-law and mother-in-law, "a singular and widely-spread custom in Australia," says that "when a girl has been promised to a man in marriage, or when he is married, the man and the mother of his wife or betrothed

[1] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), pp. 102, 141.
[2] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 388.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 526.
[4] T. Williams *and* J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (1858), i. 136.

scrupulously avoid each other's presence. Should the mother-in-law require to pass even within a hundred yards of her son-in-law, she covers herself, if the tribe wears clothes, from head to feet with her cloak. Also they never exchange words together except in cases of necessity. I have often noticed the awkward occurrences to which this custom leads, but I could not get the blacks satisfactorily to explain its design. Nevertheless the object of the practice seems to lie on the surface."[1] It was criminal for a son-in-law and mother-in-law to look at one another in the tribes of the Mary River and Bunya-Bunya country.[2] On Fraser's Island "the mother-in-law must not look upon her son-in-law at any time: they believe that if she did he would go mad, and would go and live in the bush like a wild man."[3]

[Amongst the Kurnai, according to Mr Howitt, "the curious custom in accordance with which the man was prohibited from speaking to, or having any communication or dealings with, his wife's mother, is one of extraordinary strength, and seems to be rooted deep down in their very nature. So far as I know it is of widespread occurrence throughout Australia."][4] In the same continent, however, the taboo between a man and his father-in-law is probably rare; Mr Howitt asserts that it does not exist.[5]

Amongst the North American Indians, however, it seems fairly common, though not so common as the ordinary form. Amongst the Omahas a man does not speak to his wife's mother,[6] [and the whole system of

[1] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 163. [3] *Ibid.*, iii. 145.

[4] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 203.

[5] A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 503.

[6] J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1884 for 1881-1882), iii. 262.

avoidances has been thus described, "Neither the father-in-law nor mother-in-law will hold any direct conversation with their son-in-law; nor will he, on any occasion, or under any consideration, converse immediately with them, although no ill-will exists between them; they will not, on any account, mention each other's name in company, nor look in each other's faces; any conversation that passes between them is conducted through the medium of some other person. . . . This extraordinary formality is carried to a great length, and is very rigidly observed. If a person enters a dwelling in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter turns his back, covers his head with his robe, and avails himself of the first opportunity to leave his presence. If a person visit his wife, during her residence at the lodge of her father, the latter averts himself, and conceals his head with his robe, and his hospitality is extended circuitously by means of his daughter, by whom the pipe is transferred to her husband to smoke. Communications or queries intended for the son-in-law are addressed aloud to the daughter, who receives the replies of her husband. The same formality is observed by the mother-in-law; if she wishes to present him with food, it is invariably handed to the daughter for him, or if she happens to be absent for the moment it is placed on the ground, and she retires from the lodge that he may take it up and eat it. A ten years' separation will not change this custom."][1] Amongst the Arawaks the son-in-law might not see the face of his mother-in-law, and if they lived in the same house, they were obliged to keep on opposite sides of a partition.[2]

[1] E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (1823), i. 232-233.

[2] J. H. Bernau, *Missionary Labours in British Guiana* (1847), p. 29.

Amongst the Banyai a man must sit with his knees bent in the presence of his mother-in-law, and may not put out his feet towards her.[1] A Congo proverb runs: "My mother-in-law is angry with me, but what do I care. We do not eat from the same dish."[2] Amongst the Bondei the prospective bridegroom does not eat with his betrothed after betrothal, nor with his father-in-law or mother-in law, nor does the girl eat with him or with his parents. At the wedding ceremony the pair eat together, and the groom eats with his father-in-law, but neither then nor on any occasion may he eat with his mother-in-law.[3] In Amboina the son-in-law may not eat with the mother-in-law,[4] so also in Buru.[5] In Halmahera the son-in-law when in his wife's house may not eat out of vessels used by her parents, and the same prohibition applies to her when in his home.[6]

In Central Celebes the son-in-law may not speak to his mother-in-law privately.[7] In Ceram he may not come near his mother-in-law. She may not utter his name, nor he hers.[8] This prohibition against uttering each other's names is found in the Torres Straits,[9] amongst

[1] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857), p. 622.

[2] H. Ward, "Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 296.

[3] G. Dale, "An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bondei Country," *J.A.I.* (1876), xxv. 200.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 43.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[6] *Id.*, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 69.

[7] *Id.*, "De Topantunuasu of Oorspronkelijke Volksstammen van Central Selebes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1886), xxxv. 91.

[8] *Id.*, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 102.

[9] A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribes of Torres Straits," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 338.

the Sioux[1] and Omahas,[2] the Kaffirs,[3] in Buru,[4] the Aru Islands,[5] the Kei Islands,[6] and in Wetar.[7] In the Banks Islands a man will not name his wife's father, but will sit with him and converse; as to his wife's mother, he will not come near her, nor mention her name; he and she avoid each other, though if necessary they will talk at a distance.[8] This mutual taboo against names is a real duty, the utterance of another's name being equivalent to putting him in danger. Accordingly, in Amboina the son-in-law calls his mother-in-law "mother." People are never called by their names.[9] In Ceram the son-in-law may not mention his mother-in-law's name, and he therefore calls her "mother."[10] In Wetar the son-in-law calls his mother-in-law "mother," and his father-in-law "father."[11] The same titles are used by the Kaffirs. Amongst the latter people the wife is called "daughter of so-and-so."[12] Similar results are found where the common prohibition occurs against husband and wife mentioning each other's name. In Buru the father-in-law of Jadet is called "father of Jadet."[13] In the Aru Islands, the son-in-law calls his mother-in-law, his wife's name being Madamar, "mother of Madamar," and his father-in-law "father of Madamar."[14]

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-1860), ii. 196.

[2] D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (1820), p. 341.

[3] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), p. 172.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 263. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 236. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

[8] W. Coote, *Wanderings, south and east* (1882), p. 138.

[9] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 43.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 102. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

[12] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), pp. 172, 173.

[13] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 5. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

Where the classificatory system is well developed, the taboo is extended to persons who potentially may or might have come into this relation. Thus, in the Urabunna tribe the mother of a man's wife is called his "*nowillie* (equivalent to father's sister), and any women of that relationship is *mura* to him and he to her, and they must not speak to one another." [1]

Three explanations have been attempted.[2] The first is that of Mr Fison,[3] and has been suggested by others. It is that the rule is due to a fear of intercourse which is unlawful, though theoretically allowed on some classificatory systems. This seems to be corroborated by such traditions as that of the Gaboon natives, who say the rule was founded "because of an incest," [4] and by a few recorded cases, due to special circumstances, in which a man has married mother and daughter at once. This explanation also is one most likely to occur to explorers, who have personal knowledge of savages; for there is no doubt at all that the horror felt by the savage at infringement of the taboo between himself and his mother-in-law is of the same character as that inspired by the idea of incest, a *horror religiosus* rather than *naturalis*.[5] But against this explanation it is enough to point out the antecedent improbability of any man, not to mention a savage, ever falling in love with a woman old enough to

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 61.

[2] [See also E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), i. 441 *et seq.*]

[3] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 103.

[4] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashanti* (1819), p. 437.

[5] [This explanation is the one also favoured by Dr Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (1919), pp. 27-28, on the ground that a man's love for his wife is only a deflection of his love for his mother, and accordingly tends to be deflected again from his wife to her mother. Thus to Dr Freud the difficulties of the anthropologist are no difficulties at all.]

be his mother or mother-in-law,[1] and the improbability of so many peoples concurring in being afraid of this, while there is a general preference amongst savages for marriage within the same generation. Moreover, technically such connection is not incest, except in the four-class system. What truth there is in the theory is this that, the practical man is apt to focus sexual taboo upon sexual intercourse, and, while theoretically the mother-in-law is marriageable in many systems (and so there would be no "incest" except in so far as the idea of incest in primitive thought was not differentiated from any sexual connection, all such being theoretically dangerous), yet, this general intercourse being feared may be referred to in this special way. Still the question remains, why should this be so feared?

The second explanation is that of Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock), who traced it to "marriage by capture." "When the capture was a reality, the indignation of the parents would also be real; when it became a mere symbol, the parental anger would be symbolised also, and would be continued even after its origin was forgotten."[2] This theory has been assisted by one or two mistaken accounts of explorers: but, in the first place, "marriage by capture" was never more than a rare sporadic result; in the second place, the preponderance of sex is overlooked. Why should the "indignation" be so generally expressed by the mother only? Thirdly, no fact ever remained as a symbol or ceremony without some real psychological impulse to inspire it.[3]

[1] [But, objected Mr Lang, *Social Origins* (1903), p. 278, "'in love' is one thing, and an access of lust is another." This objection, certainly, is not entirely groundless, but scarcely seems important enough to affect the above argument.]

[2] Lord Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation* (1870), p. 114.

[3] [Cp. S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (1919), pp. 22-23.]

The third explanation is that of Sir E. B. Tylor, who thinks that the custom is simply the familiar one of "cutting," and is due to the idea that the husband for instance, when coming to live with his wife's parents, is regarded as an outsider, not one of the family, and is therefore "not recognised." This is altered, however, when the first child is born. Now, having contributed to the formation of a new member of the family, he is recognised at last and the taboo is over.[1] Tylor, indeed, shows some probability that the custom by which the husband is "cut" is causally connected with the practice according to which the husband resides with his wife's family. This, however, would go without saying, as would the converse also, precisely because the person chiefly concerned is a stranger, and is one amongst many. The explanation is simply a restatement of the problem. He adds, however, that there are no cases of avoidance between the wife and the husband's family, where the husband lives with the wife's family. But there are such cases, as in Ceram,[2] though such are naturally uncommon, precisely because only one member of the husband's family is on the spot. Mr Howitt also, while asserting that there is a taboo throughout most of Australia between a man and his mother-in-law, denied that there is a taboo between a man and his father-in-law.[3] Why should the cutting fall to the mother? Tylor did not take into account the preponderance of sex in these customs. In each and every case the prohibition is focussed on the husband and the mother-in-law, or,

[1] Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 246 *et seq.*

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 102.

[3] A. W. Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 503.

more rarely, on the wife and the father-in-law, though it may include various relations of either sex. Again, though it is, so far, "cutting" and non-recognition, yet such terms fail to explain the religious horror with which the rule is connected, nor does there seem to be any warrant for such an extraordinary intensity of family exclusiveness. Moreover, such cases as the following are in principle quite opposed to "cutting." In Central Celebes a man may not speak *privately* to his mother-in-law.[1] When typical cases are examined the feeling behind the custom is widely different from that behind the practice of "cutting" a person, whether a non-relative or otherwise; also the avoidance is mutual in the generality of cases. Still less does this explanation explain the no less intense horror found between a man and his mother-in-law amongst peoples where the wife resides from the first at her husband's home; on Tylor's theory, this would be a survival from the practice in the maternal stage, but such survival shows too much life, and the hypothesis that the maternal system always preceded the paternal is itself untenable. The taboo ceases in a few cases when a child is born; what usually happens is that the pair who live with the wife's parents set up a house for themselves when a child is born, the birth of a child being a common signal that the union is to be permanent, in other words, that the marriage is complete; as we shall see,[2] there is reason for the cessation, but it is not that the man is now become a member of the family.

[Dr Westermarck, in criticising the views here set

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, "De Topantunuasu of Oorspronkelije Volksstammen van Centraal Selebes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1886), xxxv. 91.

[2] [Below, ii. 194 *et seq.*]

out, complains chiefly that the "avoidance between relatives by marriage of the same sex Mr Crawley makes no attempt to explain. He has undoubtedly minimised its prevalence and importance."[1] This is a very serious criticism, and, if it could be sustained, would undoubtedly much lessen the value of the theories here expounded. It is therefore important to determine the proportion of avoidances between relations by marriage of the same sex, and similar avoidances between persons of opposite sexes. The evidence put forward in these volumes seems amply to justify the explanation suggested, but lest this evidence be suspected of having been selected, let us leave it on one side. The best plan would be, of course, to make a complete ethnographical survey; but, even if this were practicable, it would delay us too long. I have therefore analysed the largest collection of all such avoidances, namely, that incidentally made by Sir James Frazer in the course of his investigation of *Totemism and Exogamy*. The following tables show the results, with references to *Totemism and Exogamy*, and asterisks indicating those few cases which are uncertainly or obscurely recorded; for the sake of precision and convenience the relationships are reduced to their lowest common denominator, a man, and, where this is impossible, a woman:

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Mariage* (1921), i. 449.

AVOIDANCES BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES RELATED BY MARRIAGE

Avoidance between :	Name of people, tribe or locality :	Reference to *Totemism and Exogamy :*
A man and his wife's mother	Ngarigo, South-Eastern Australia	i. 395.
	Kamilaroi, „ „	i. 404-405.
	Wonghibon, „ „	i. 416-417.
	Kulin, „ „	i. 440.
	Maryborough, „ „	i. 451.
	South-Western Victoria, Australia	i. 469.
	Yuin, South-Eastern Australia	i. 492.
	Hunter River, „ „	i. 492.
	Kurnai, „ „	i. 503.
	Chepara, „ „	i. 507.
	North-Western Queensland, Australia	i. 541.
	Tully, North-Eastern Australia	i. 541.
	Western Australia	i. 565.
	North-Western Australia	i. 572.
	Watchandies, Australia	iv. 273.
	Western Islands, Torres Straits	ii. 16-17.
	Daudai, New Guinea	ii. 26
	Banks's Islands, Southern Melanesia	ii. 76.
	Port Patteson, „ „	ii. 76.
	Leper's Island, „ „	ii. 76-77.
	Shortlands Islands, Central Melanesia	ii. 117.
	Batta, Sumatra	ii. 189.
	*Herero, South Africa	ii. 368.
	Eastern Bantu, South Africa	ii. 385.
	Central Angoniland, East Africa	ii. 400-401.
	Anyanja and Yao, „ „	ii. 401.
	Wagogo, „ „	ii. 403.
	Masai, „ „	ii. 412.
	A-kamba, „ „	ii. 424.
	Basoga, „ „	ii. 461.
	Baganda, „ „	ii. 508.
	Banyoro, „ „	ii. 522.
	Lower Congo, Central Africa	ii. 622-623.
	Upoto, Congo, „ „	ii. 630.
	Matabele, South Africa	iv. 303.
	Tanganyika Plateau, East Africa	iv. 303.
	Donagla, Africa	iv. 303.
	Ponka, North America	iii. 111.
	Teton, „ „	iii. 112.
	Mandan, „ „	iii. 136.
	Minnetaree, „	iii. 148.
	Mahavo, „ „	iii. 247.
	Apache, „ „	iii. 247.
	Tlingit, North-West America	iii. 277-278.
	Tsetsaut, „ „	iii. 361-362.
	Maidu, North America	iii. 498.
	Arawak, British Guiana, South America	iii. 314-315
	Number of cases: 47.	

AVOIDANCES BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES RELATED BY MARRIAGE (*Continued*).

Avoidance between :	Name of people, tribe or locality :	Reference to *Totemism and Exogamy :*
A man and his wife's mother's sister	Kulin, South-East Australia . .	i. 440.
	South-West Victoria, Australia .	i. 469.
	Number of cases : 2.	
A man and his wife's mother with all the women in her subclass	Arunta, Central Australia . .	iv. 273.
A man and his wife's mother and other female relations	Californian peninsula, North America	iv. 314
A man and his wife's grandmother	Omaha, North America	iii. 110.
A man and his wife's sister	Western Islands, Torres Straits .	ii. 17.
	South-East New Guinea . . .	iv. 283.
	Number of cases : 2.	
A man and his wife's brother's wife	Barongo, South Africa . . .	ii. 388.
A man and his sister's daughter	Baganda, East Africa . . .	ii. 509.
A man and his son's wife	Western Islands, Torres Straits .	ii. 16-17.
	South-East New Guinea . . .	iv. 283-284.
	Port Patteson, South Melanesia .	ii. 76.
	Batta, Sumatra	ii. 189.
	Matabele, South Africa . . .	iv. 303.
	Tanganyika Plateau, East Africa .	iv. 303.
	Wagogo, „ „ . .	ii. 403.
	Baganda, „ „ . .	ii. 508-509.
	Assineboin, North America . .	iii. 110.
	Omaha, „ „ . .	iii. 110.
	Teton, „ „ . .	iii. 112.
	Number of cases : 11.	
A man and his niece's son's wife	Ba-Huana, Congo, Central Africa .	ii. 630.

AVOIDANCES BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES RELATED BY MARRIAGE (*Continued*)

Avoidance between :	Name of people, tribe or locality :	Reference to *Totemism and Exogamy :*
A man and his brother's wife's mother	Kulin, South-East Australia . .	i. 440.
A woman and her husband's parents' uncles	Anyanja and Yao, East Africa . .	ii. 401.
A woman and her husband's male relations	Amaponda, South Africa . . .	iv. 303.
A woman and her husband's male relations in the ascending line	Eastern Bantu, South Africa . .	ii. 385.
A woman and her daughter's husband with all the men in his subclass	Arunta, Central Australia . .	iv. 273.
Number of cases of avoidance between males and females related by marriage : 73.		

AVOIDANCES BETWEEN MALES RELATED BY MARRIAGE

Avoidance between :	Name of people, tribe or locality :	Reference to *Totemism and Exogamy :*
A man and his wife's father	Western Islands, Torres Straits .	ii. 16-17.
	Port Patteson, South Melanesia .	ii. 76.
	Anyanga and Yao, East Africa . .	ii. 401.
	Number of cases : 3.	
A man and his wife's parents' maternal uncles	Anyanga and Yao, East Africa . .	ii. 401.
A man and his brother-in-law	Western Islands, Torres Straits .	ii. 16-17.
	South-East New Guinea . . .	iv. 283.
	Gazelle Peninsula, North Melanesia .	ii. 124-125.
	Masai, East Africa	ii. 412.
	Number of cases : 4.	
Number of cases of avoidance between males related by marriage : 8.		

AVOIDANCES BETWEEN FEMALES RELATED BY MARRIAGE

Avoidance between :	Name of people, tribe or locality :	Reference to *Totemism and Exogamy :*
A woman and her husband's mother	*Tully, North-East Australia . .	i. 541.
A woman and her sister-in-law	South-East New Guinea . . .	iv. 283.
	Masai, East Africa	ii. 412.
	Number of cases : 2.	
Number of cases of avoidance between females related by marriage : 3.		

AVOIDANCES BETWEEN PERSONS OF UNSPECIFIED SEX RELATED BY MARRIAGE

Avoidance between :	Name of people, tribe or locality :	Reference to *Totemism and Exogamy :*
A man and his wife's parents	Pennefather, North-East Australia .	i. 541.
	Gazelle Peninsula, North Melanesia .	ii. 124.
	Hos, West Africa	ii. 581.
	Ba-Huana, Congo, Central Africa .	ii. 630.
	Angoni, East Africa . . .	iv. 303.
	Omaha, North America . . .	iii. 109.
	Assineboin „ . .	iii. 110.
	*Ponka, „	iii. 111.
	Haida, „	iii. 305.
	*Florida, „	iv. 314.
	Yucatan, „	iv. 314.
	Number of cases : 11.	
A man and his wife's relations	Caribs, West Indies . . .	iv. 315.
A woman and her husband's parents	Anyanga and Yao, East Africa . .	ii. 401.
A woman and her husband's relations	Western Islands, Torres Straits .	ii. 16.
	Gazelle Peninsula, North Melanesia .	ii. 124.
	Yakut, Siberia	ii. 343.
	Number of cases : 3.	
Number of cases of avoidance between persons of unspecified sex related by marriage : 16.		

These tables may be summarised thus :

Number of cases of avoidance between males and females related by marriage	73
Number of cases of avoidance between males related by marriage	8
Number of cases of avoidance between females related by marriage	3
Number of cases of avoidance between persons of unspecified sex related by marriage	16
Total number of cases analysed [1]	100

These figures call for no comment; they form a complete refutation of Dr Westermarck's criticism, and, taken in conjunction with the numerous avoidance of a similar character not shown in these tables, such as those between husband and wife, mother and son, father and daughter, brother and sister, strongly support Mr Crawley's views concerning sexual taboo.]

It is clear that the custom of avoidance between man and his mother-in-law cannot be explained by ordinary modern conceptions either of incest or of family exclusiveness. The custom is, in fact, part of the great system of ideas which has produced both the marriage system with its various bars and the solidarity of the family. On the face of it the taboo in typical cases seems analogous to the phenomena of sexual taboo. This has been indicated by its connection with engagement taboos.

[1] The reader is reminded that these cases have not been selected, but are all those recorded by Sir James Frazer in *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910); it is by chance that they total a hundred, and thus at once show the percentages. If the four doubtful cases (those indicated by an asterisk) are omitted, the percentages become still more striking: 75 per cent., 8·3 per cent., 2·1 per cent., 14·6 per cent. respectively. Further, if the cases of avoidance between persons of unspecified sex are not taken into account, the results may be shown thus :

	Per cent.
Cases of avoidance between persons of opposite sex related by marriage	87·8
Cases of avoidance between persons of the same sex related by marriage	12·2

Amongst the Zulus the mother-in-law taboo is but one detail of an intricate system of social and sexual taboo, the latter predominating. We have seen,[1] that the ideas underlying sexual taboo have produced amongst other things mutual avoidance between engaged couples, and between the married man and his wife. If a man avoids his own wife so carefully, why in the name of probability should he avoid or be avoided by his mother-in-law as well, if the reason be either fear of incest or social non-recognition? It seems to be causally connected with a man's avoidance of his own wife. Now when we rid our minds of associations, it becomes relevant to ask, why should she be called the man's mother at all? It is at least strange, in spite of the suffix "in-law." The theoretical primitive form of the family in its bi-sexual character was, as we have seen, separation of man and wife, except when the needs of love require satisfaction, and separation of the boys and girls as soon as puberty drew near. The young boy went about with his father as soon as possible, and at puberty was formally weaned from association with the nursery and its feminine atmosphere, and his life became masculine. He no longer was to live in the house where, as he might remember, he was so early separated from his sisters, a separation naturally ascribed to the mother, being an older person, with authority, of the same sex as the girls in her care. The sex so dangerous to man, because of those qualities which spoil a man, was taboo to him—for a season. Soon, however, the inevitable came—love drove him to the dangerous sex, and he must needs obey. Similar was the case of the primitive girl in regard to the sex dangerous to her. The taboo has to be

[1] [Above, i. 25-27, 199-214.]

broken, the two tabooed persons must be joined together. In other words, the young man has to enter once more that feminine sphere from which he was so early taken away; he has to live with a woman again, no longer in the innocent ignorance of childhood, but with full knowledge of the dangers and responsibilities of the union. His female comrade is not now his sister, as in the old days, but his wife; and in the ages before the importance of blood-kinship, when living together or any close contact was the obvious bond, there was no hard conventional distinction between women of the same age. Poetry and popular language preserve this vagueness; the lover in *The Song of Songs* cries: "My sister, my spouse," and the savage lover uses the same phrase. As showing the re-entrance into the feminine sphere, an initiation custom may be cited. At a certain stage of the proceedings of initiation amongst the Arunta, the boy's prospective mother-in-law runs off with the boy, but the men fetch him back.[1]

Again, the new female companion of our hero also has a mother, who is not indeed his own mother, but the mother of his own partner or *quasi*-sister, as who should say "mother-in-law." The analogy between the two states is complete. This new life with a new woman whose mother is in a position, as mother, to guard her daughter and see to her new son's behaviour, is a reproduction of the old life, when his mother-in-blood regulated the household and separated the children. It is the same picture with higher lights and deeper shadows. He again lives under one roof with that dangerous creature, a woman, but in the new relation of wife; he again has a mother controlling to

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 443.

some extent the new relation which is a new version of the old, but she is a mother-in-law. His attitude towards the wife, when love is not upon him, will be what it was to a sister, but he now knows the reason, and his attitude towards the mother-in-law will be what it was to his mother, but the connotation of that term has altered. She might rather be called his "spiritual mother," his "mother-in-religion," if we may pervert the meaning such terms would have now. All the religious principles of sexual taboo inform the relation, and between husband and wife there is a taboo pregnant with religious meaning, the more so in proportion to the closeness of the sexual tie, closer than that between brother and sister. The relation between the husband and his wife's mother is also full of religious meaning ; it is to begin with an embarrassing one, for she is neither his mother, though of that age, nor his sister, nor his wife, though a woman. Yet she is his "mother" in a religious sense. As he, from sexual taboo, *ngiampe* duty, and inequality of age, would avoid all physical intimacy with his own mother, so does he *a fortiori* avoid it with his mother-in-law. For the taboo is enhanced, and here Tylor's theory has some truth, by the fact that the woman is not the man's real mother, and is to that extent less familiar, as is also the case with his wife in relation to himself.

When the practical aspect of the relation is considered, the mother-in-law is responsible for her daughter's safety, and oversees the husband's behaviour, but in primitive custom this also renders his attitude towards her one of religious respect ; in the case of taboo between the wife and her father-in-law, the same applies, and the attitude is strengthened by her religious fear of the male sex. There are many facts which show the practical

side of this relation, the natural anxiety of the mother concerning her daughter's welfare, and here the preponderance of sex in these customs and the causal connection with residence are explained. This anxiety concentrates upon child-birth, and is often concerned with the prevention of repudiation on the part of the husband, a question settled by the birth of a child. Amongst the Damaras, when the pair go to their home, the bride's mother and other women go with her to see her safely installed.[1] Identity of sex increases affection between mother and daughter; and here there is naturally some indignation at the loss of a loved daughter. Abipone mothers "could hardly bear to part with their daughters."[2] In modern Egypt a man prefers that his mother-in-law should live with him to protect his wife's honour, and consequently his own. The mother-in-law is called "protector."[3] Mr Yate gives the following statement as to a Maori Christian wedding. The bride's mother came to him and told him she was pleased that her daughter was going to be married to Pahan, but "that she must be angry about it with her mouth." On returning with the bridegroom and bride the procession was met by her. "She began to assail us all furiously. She put on a most terrific countenance, threw her garments about, and tore her hair like a fury; then said to me: 'Ah, you white missionary, you are worse than the devil; you first make a slave lad your son by redeeming him from his master, and then marry him to my daughter. I will tear your eyes out!' The old woman, suiting the action to the word, feigned a snatch at my

[1] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1879), i. 49.

[2] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (1784), ii. 208.

[3] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), i. 219.

face, at the same time saying in an undertone, that it was 'all mouth,' and that she did not mean what she said."[1] In the case of a young married pair in Cambodia, neither of whom have been married before, it is believed that when the wife is *enceinte* for the first time, the husband is able to take from her by magic the unborn babe. Accordingly "the parents of the bride never trust their son-in-law, and will not let the young couple go out of their sight."[2]

There is another element already hinted at, which enters the question. It will be found that the mother-in-law taboo tends to disappear when the taboos between husband and wife are intensified, and *vice versâ*. The other element is this: as sexual taboo must be kept up for safety, all the more so because of close union and especially until a child is born, for the pair are continuously breaking the rule and all their conduct affects the child, a substitute to receive the onus of taboo is useful, and the best substitute is the mother-in-law; if the husband avoids her, his relations with his wife will be secure, and if the mother-in-law avoids him, her daughter's safety will be likewise secured. This idea coincides with filial and maternal duty, and is a good instance of savage make-believe in shifting responsibility. The embarrassing relation of a mother who is no mother assists in the formation of the conception. Again, the principles of contact find here their full development; the wife is the link between the mother-in-law and the husband; she belongs to and is a part of each, she is the *kalduke* as well as the "mediator" between them, and this important form of connection produces the most

[1] W. Yate, *An Account of New Zealand* (1835), p. 97.

[2] É. Aymonier, "Note sur les coutumes et croyances superstitienses des Cambodgiens," *Cochinchine Française* (1883), vi. 187.

intensified responsibility, and taboos the two parties. The *ngia ngiampe* relation is shown by the Central Australian custom, according to which a mother-in-law and son-in-law are bound to supply each other with hair and game,[1] and by the necessary result in all cases of the taboo that a third party is the medium of communication, as in the Torres Straits,[2] and amongst the Omahas,[3] the wife being the intermediary for conversation and communication.

This explanation finds a parallel and a proof in what is the same thing in modern society. The avoidance by a man of his mother-in-law is a well-known feature of *bourgeois* manners, and is a frequent subject of humorous anecdote. The Germans have the proverbial phrases "Schwiegermutter—Teufelsunterfutter," "Schwiegermutter—Tigermutter," and English has the expression "mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a tempest and a hailstorm." In the practical sphere, the taboo still obtains in civilisation. The reason underlying both the primitive and the civilised form of this phenomenon is the same, though the religious meanings have evaporated from the latter. The modern husband resents her interference, to which he half-consciously knows she has a right, as being of the same sex as his wife, an older woman and her mother ; and she does not quite trust him, in her anxiety for her daughter's welfare. Both now and then the mother-in-law is avoided, precisely because she is the mother-in-law.

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 26, 40, 465.

[2] A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribes of Torres Straits," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 338.

[3] J. O. Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1884 for 1881-1882), iii. 262.

CHAPTER XVI

PARENTS AND CHILD

No general account of customs and beliefs concerning child-birth is here attempted ; some of the more important have been referred to,[1] and one or two others will be discussed. As a dangerous crisis child-birth is attended by evil influences ; as a sexual crisis these, as we have seen,[2] are sexual. Direct attribution of the danger to the agency of the opposite sex often appears, while conversely that sex especially fears the contagion of feminity at a crisis when the female organism is, as it were, broken up. Men, and even the husband, are prohibited from being present, as in the Marianne Islands,[3] Wetar,[4] New Caledonia,[5] and amongst the Dyaks,[6] Zulus,[7] and Damaras.[8] In the Aru Islands,[9] and Amboina,[10] the reason is given that the presence of men would hinder the birth. In Samoa all the pains of

[1] [Above, i. 72, 254, ii. 103.] [2] [Above, i. 254 *et seq.*]

[3] J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1834-1835), ii. 494.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 449.

[5] J. Garnier, *Voyage autour du monde : la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (1901), p. 183.

[6] H. Low, *Sarawak* (1848), p. 307.

[7] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 88.

[8] E. Dannert, " Customs of the Ovaherero at the Birth of a Child," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1880), ii. 62.

[9] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

child-birth are imputed to the fault of the husband.[1] This idea of mutual responsibility between persons in close contact is illustrated by a Maori practice. If the mother's breasts give no milk, both husband and wife are sprinkled ceremonially with water and kept apart to allow the charm to have its effect.[2] The Saturnalia practices already referred to,[3] occur at child-birth, and with the same meaning. Thus in Fiji, at the feast to celebrate a birth, the men paint on each other's bodies the tatoo marks used by women.[4] This is the same in principle as wearing the dress of the other sex.

The customs and beliefs relating to the birth of twins are both numerous and interesting.[5] Here we will merely point out that the chief idea behind such superstitions is that not only is the occurrence abnormal, but that one of the infants is the offspring of a spirit or god. Twins are very sacred amongst the Damaras ; all present at the feast are called "twins," and afterwards form a sort of guild.[6] Amongst the Yorubas the god Elegbra, who is a patron of love, is also the tutelar god of twins. One of twins is always called after him.[7] This god is supposed to consort with men and women during sleep, and so fulfils the function of the *incubus* and *succubus*.[8] The twin children of Amphitryon are a case

[1] J. S. Kubary, "Aus dem samoanischen Familienleben," *Globus* (1885), xlvii. 70.

[2] E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (1882), p. 30.

[3] [Above, ii. 103-104.]

[4] T. Williams *and* J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (1858), i. 175.

[5] [This subject has been exhaustively discussed by Dr Rendel Harris, *Boanerges* (1913).]

[6] E. Dannert, "The Customs and Ceremonies of the Ovaherero at the Birth of Twins," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1880), ii. 107.

[7] Sir A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (1894), p. 80.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

in point. Many peoples on the other hand kill one of twin infants.

The most interesting practice in connection with child-birth is the curious custom to which Tylor gave the name of *couvade*.[1] In its perfect form the husband takes to his bed and pretends to be lying-in, while the wife goes about her usual employments as soon as may be after delivery. Some connect it with the world-wide belief that the conduct of the mother before and also after birth affects the child. The Hottentots believe that if a pregnant woman eats lion's or leopard's flesh, the child will have the characteristics of those animals.[2] In European folklore the belief occurs that if a pregnant woman walks over a grave her child will die,[3] in Transylvania, if one throws a flower in her face, the child will have a mole on that part of its face.[4] [There is a good deal of evidence to show that such beliefs are not altogether erroneous, though no satisfactory explanation of the facts has yet been suggested.] [5]

Further, it is quite natural in view of the closeness of the tie, which, as *ngia ngiampe*, is regulated by contact, that the conduct of the father also should affect the welfare of the child. The biological tie is enforced by the ideas of contact. In the Andamans a pregnant woman abstains from pork, turtle, honey, iguana and *paradoxurus*, and after a while her husband also abstains from the last two foods, believing that the embryo would

[1] [Sir E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1878), p. 288. Cp. *A New English Dictionary* (1893), ii. 1099.]

[2] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam* (1881), p. 88.

[3] F. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* (1848), p. 262.

[4] E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest* (1888), p. 191.

[5] See for example, Walter Heape, *Sex Antagonism* (1913), pp. 132 *et seq.* See also Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iv. 64 *et seq.*

suffer if he ate them.[1] Similarly amongst the Coroados, Puris and Coropos.[2] Amongst the Californian Indians the old women washed the child as soon as born, and "although the husband did not affect the sufferings of labour, his conduct was supposed in some measure to affect the unborn child, and he was consequently laid under certain restrictions, such as not being allowed to leave the house or eat fish and meat."[3] At Suan the husband shuts himself up for some days after the birth of his first child, and will eat nothing.[4] During the forty-four days of "uncleanness," taboos are imposed on the Malay husband as well as on his wife. He may not, for instance, shave his head, and may not hunt or kill anything.[5] Amongst the Piojés both father and mother fast for three days after the birth.[6] Amongst the Dyaks the number of foods forbidden to the pregnant woman is increased during the last month; and even the father of the expected child is put under the same restrictions; neither may light a fire, nor approach one, else the child will be born spotted; they may not eat fruit, else the child will have stomach-ache, they may not make holes in wood, else the child will be born blind, nor dive into water, else the child will be suffocated in the womb and be still-born.[7] This kind of thing is common in New Guinea.[8] The father abstains from

[1] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 355.

[2] C. F. P. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens* (1867), ii. 247.

[3] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), i. 412.

[4] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (1887), p. 165.

[5] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 345.

[6] A. Simson, "Notes on the Piojes of the Putumayo," *J.A.I.* (1879), viii. 222.

[7] M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks* (1870), pp. 38-39.

[8] J. Chalmers, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

certain kinds of animal food. If he eats the flesh of a *water-haas*, which has protruding teeth, the child will have the same; if he eats the spotted *labba*, the child will have spots.[1] Of the Indians of Guiana Sir Everard Im Thurn says, "there is some idea that if the father eats strong food, washes, smokes, handles weapons, it would have the same result as if the babe did so."[2]

Couvade proper is combined with these practices by the last-mentioned people. "The woman works as usual up to a few hours before birth; she goes to the forest with some women, and there the birth takes place. In a few hours she is up and at work, and suffers little. As soon as the child is born, the father takes to his hammock, and abstains from work, from meat and all food but weak gruel of *cassava* meal, from smoking, from washing himself, and above all, from touching weapons of any sort, and is nursed and cared for by all the women of the place. He may not scratch himself with his finger-nails, but may use a splinter of cokerite palm. This goes on for days, sometimes weeks."[3] Amongst the Passés he paints himself black, and stays in his hammock fasting, until the navel-string of the child has fallen off.[4] In Zardandan, and amongst the Ainus, Miris and Miaos, the Lagunero and Ahomama, the Caribs, and in Martinique, Surinam, Guiana, Brazil, amongst the Jivaros, Mundurucus, Macusis, Arawaks, and Arecunas, and in Wanga, Malabar and the Nicobars, the father lies-in after the birth.[5] In Celebes, California, [and elsewhere]

[1] E. Beardmore, "The Natives of Mouat, Daudai, New Guinea," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 462.

[2] Sir E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (1883), p. 218.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[4] C. F. P. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens* (1867), i. 511.

[5] H. L. Roth, "The Signification of Couvade," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 228 *et seq.*

he lies-in and is attended by his wife.[1] Amongst the Erukala-Vandhu of Southern India "directly the woman feels the birth-pangs, she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room, where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father, *assafoetida*, jaggery, and other articles are then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During the days of ceremonial uncleanness, the man is treated as the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him."[2]

Two explanations of the practice have been suggested, one by Bachofen, supported by Tylor; and the other by Tylor, which he afterwards abandoned for the former. [On the other hand, Sir James Frazer first accepted Bachofen's theory, but afterwards rejected it in favour of Tylor's, not following the latter in his return to Bachofen's views.][3] Bachofen "takes it to belong to the turning-point of society when the tie of parentage, till then recognised in maternity, was extended to take in paternity, this being done by the fiction of representing the father as a second mother. He compares the couvade with symbolic pretences of birth which, in the classical world were performed as rights of adoption. To his significant examples may be added the fact that

[1] H. L. Roth, "The Signification of Couvade," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 228 *et seq.*

[2] J. Cain, in *The Indian Antiquary* (1874), iii. 151.

[3] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), i. 72-73, iv. 244 *et seq.* At v. 244 *n.*[5], Sir James writes: "I have made a large collection of evidence on this subject, but must reserve it for another work."

among certain tribes the couvade is the legal form by which the father recognises a child as his."[1] In other words, it is a piece of symbolism whereby the father asserts his paternity, and accordingly his rights as a father, as against the maternal system of descent and inheritance. Tylor found it most frequent in what he called the maternal-paternal stage, represented by peoples with whom the husband lives for a year with the wife's family, and then removes. As a record of the change from a maternal to a paternal system, and a means whereby that change was effected, it should not, as he points out, occur in the purely maternal stage. According to his tables it does not, but, as Mr Ling Roth has shown, cases of the couvade are actually found in the maternal stage, as amongst the Arawaks and Melanesians, both of whom have maternal descent. Further, the custom would be too much of a legal fiction if it meant all this originally; and early man has not, as may easily be shown, any such lawyer-like love of formality in matters of descent and inheritance; like the animals, he attaches himself to those with whom he happens to be born,[2] and as to inheritance, there is nothing to inherit. Doubtless in certain cases, as amongst the Mundurucus, the couvade may have come to be used as a method whereby the father recognises the child as his; but this, besides being secondary, is not the same thing as a legal fiction asserting the father's rights as against the maternal

[1] Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 256. [Cp. C. J. W. Francken, *De Evolutie van het Huwelijk* (1894), pp. 182-188.]

[2] [Dr Hartland, *The Evolution of Kinship* (1922), pp. 23-24, writes: "Among the Negro races love for the mother and the tenderest attachment to her are a marked and pleasing characteristic, emphasised by the polygynous polity which dissipates the father's responsibility and affection among the children of numerous mothers often drawn from a wide area and many tribes."]

system. It is rather a case of paternal pride. It would be expected that a people should themselves be aware of the fact, if assertion of paternal rights as against maternal were the object of the custom, the maternal system and counter-assertion being so obvious, but no tribe actually holds this meaning of the couvade.

The second explanation, proposed and later abandoned by Tylor, [but adopted by Dr Hartland[1] and by Sir James Frazer],[2] may also be given in his words. He laid stress on the "magical-sympathetic nature of a large class of couvade rites as implying a physical bond between parent and child: thus, an Abipone would not take snuff lest his sneezing might hurt his new-born baby, and a Carib father must abstain from eating sea-cow lest his infant should get little round eyes like it. This motive, which is explicitly or implicitly recognised by the savages themselves, certainly forms part of the explanation of the couvade. It is, however, secondary, being due to the connection considered as subsisting between parent and child, so that these sympathetic prohibitions may be interpreted as originally practised by the mother only, and afterwards adopted by the father." This explanation covers more facts than does the other, it is also more scientific than the other, in its application of primitive psychology, rather than later legalism, to a primitive custom. But it does not apply at all to couvade proper.

Each of these explanations, however, like many another explanation of marriage customs and systems on legal lines, really errs in not taking into account the woman's side of the question. They show a sympathy with the father and with the child, but forget the mother,

[1] E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* (1894-1896), ii. 400 *et seq.*

[2] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), iv. 247 *et seq.*

and are thus a modern document, illustrating the history of woman's treatment by man.

On examining the facts we can distinguish two classes of couvade customs, which often combine, but are essentially distinct. We have first a very widely-spread group of customs, in which the father, as well as the mother, must avoid certain acts and certain things for fear of injuring the unborn or new-born child. These have been illustrated,[1] and show a result of the *ngiangiampe* relation. They are a good example of the principles of contact underlying human relations and relationships. Things and persons that have been or are in contact of any sort, or between whom there is any tie of contact or connection, retain the connection in a material form, and either party can thereby sympathetically influence the other. As Mr Ling Roth pointed out, there are cases where the child affects the father.[2] On Bachofen's theory this would be an assertion of paternity by the child; but on the principles of *ngiampe* it is natural enough. The child's substance is part of the father and the mother alike, both in biological fact and in primitive inference from this and from the principles of contact, and parental affection and responsibility apply the principles of contact, which are the material basis of affection and responsibility, in order to ensure the child's welfare. All such connection being potentially of the *ngiampe* species, the sympathy is a result of that relation, and shows the material nature of the bond. Similar phenomena have already been noted, such as the conduct of women when their husbands are absent. Thus, in South-East Africa, if a man's wife while he is on a

[1] [Above, ii. 174-179.]

[2] H. L. Roth, "The Signification of Couvade," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 234.

journey anoints herself with the oil or fat in daily use, she will not only suffer herself but bring calamity upon her husband.[1] In the East Indies it is a common thing for a father to become *helaga*, that is, to put himself under taboo, in order to cure a sick child.[2] When a Thlinkeet medicine-man is about to give an exhibition, his relatives who form the chorus must fast and take emetics previously.[3] At the circumcision of a Madagascar boy the parents fast, and also the nurse and those who prepare the boy's food.[4]

The dangers of contact which underlie the relation, as between husband and wife, assist towards the husband's duty. When a Kaffir woman is pregnant, he should not bathe "because he will quickly be carried away by water."[5] When a Guatemala wife was barren, she confessed her sins; if that had no effect, her husband also confessed, and his cloak was laid on his wife.[6] Here the connection we are speaking of is almost developed into couvade. So in a case of difficult labour, which was believed due to some breaking of taboo, the Maori husband plunged in the river, while the priest pronounced a charm.[7] By extension of the *ngiampe* relation we get a case like that of the Chiriguanos, with whom not only the father but the other children lie-in and fast at the birth.[8] Such an example does not fit with

[1] J. Macdonald, "East Central African Customs," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 116.

[2] S. St John, *Life in the Forest of the Far East* (1862), i. 175.

[3] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (1870), p. 426.

[4] W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar* (1838), i. 187.

[6] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1868-1870), p. 443.

[5] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), ii. 678.

[7] E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (1882), p. 30.

[8] A. Thouar, "Auf der Suche nach den Resten der Crevaux'schen Expedition," *Globus* (1885), xlviii. 35.

Bachofen's theory, for on that theory here again the children would be claiming paternity.

Any connection with residence that may remain after distinguishing true and false couvade, is due to the cause behind that residence. In real couvade the husband lies-in; the simulation by the father of the mother's part is obviously the essence of the custom. If we examine the phenomena of couvade proper, and apply to them the principles of primitive religion, we have but to explain why the father should pretend to be a mother, or, for this is apt to be ignored, though it inheres in the definition of couvade and is its explanation, why does he pretend to be his wife? Any account of birth-customs, or of the religious ideas connected with birth, will show sufficient reason. Birth is an occasion of religious peril, witness the evil spirits and evil influences which ever lie in wait to injure both child and mother; and who so proper a person to defend mother and child from them as the father and husband. He does so in many ways, as in the island Serua, where the husband prays when his wife is confined;[1] or in the Philippines, where he walks round the house all night fighting the demons with a drawn sword.[2] The Miaos recognise the husband's duty, when they explain that the husband's going to bed for forty days is on the principle that he should bear the same hardships as his wife.[3] In the other set of cases, the most prominent feature is the sympathy between father and child, but in couvade proper the chief feature is the taking over by the father of the personality of the mother. He defends mother

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 468.

[2] Sir J. Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (1859), p. 120.

[3] A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê* (1883), i. 335.

and infant by pretending to be the mother. The idea is the familiar one of substitution ; if he pretends to be ill, and if his wife makes no fuss, but goes about her work quietly, the evil influences and agencies may possibly be deceived and think that the pretended mother is the real victim. They do not know that the poor invalid is a strong and healthy man, and the natural guardian and protector of the family besides. The result is a happy issue from the peril—the husband has done his duty. A case which is decisive is that of the Erukala-Vandhu, already noted.[1] As soon as birth approaches, the husband puts his wife's clothes upon himself, makes the woman's mark on his forehead and lies-in. He is treated as the mother during the whole period of "uncleanness."[2]

As has been shown[3] already, sympathy expressed by contact is always tending to pass into substitution and exchange of identity. This is notably the case in couvade, where no doubt in most cases of the husband's lying-in, the idea is sympathy only, and though it is not always extended to its logical conclusion as amongst the Erukala-Vandhu, yet subconsciously and potentially the final form is there.

A remarkable instance of the Saturnalia customs referred to as practised at birth, shows this sympathy practised by another than the husband, and may be compared with the cases where the children also lie-in. The matrons of certain East Central African tribes sing and dance to celebrate the approaching birth ; one of them pretends, by dressing up for the part, to be a woman with child.[4] Such a case seems to dispose of the

[1] [Above, ii. 180.]

[2] J. Cain, in *The Indian Antiquary* (1874), iii. 151.

[3] [Above, ii. 8.]

[4] D. Macdonald, *Africana* (1882), i. 129.

legal explanation of the couvade, for the couvade here is performed by a woman. When the *Mohbor-meh* women of the Tshi peoples dress up as men, and pretend to be their soldier husbands,[1] we see the same principle which is behind the couvade.

Many cases show, not complete substitution, but the idea that the father's influence helps the mother by contact, effected in various ways. Often there is but a slight step needed to make the substitution complete. In the Watubella Islands, if the wife's delivery is difficult, some of her husband's clothes are put under her.[2] The father's personality thus transmitted by his clothes assists the mother. In primitive thought, as has been shown,[3] dress contains the properties of the wearer, as the mantle of Elijah contained his virtue, and thus imparts to others the health, strength and power of resistance belonging to the owner. In Central Australia, when the labour is difficult, a man takes the husband's hair-girdle, and ties it round the woman's breasts ; if after a time the child is not yet born, the husband walks once or twice slowly past the *Erlukwirra* (women's camp) to induce the unborn child to follow him.[4]

The child is often protected in this way by the garments of [the father. Dr Hartland writes in a somewhat different connection : "Spirits whose baleful influences are feared by man are happily easily tricked. To this guilelessness on their part must be attributed another strange method of defeating their evil designs on children. It appears to be enough to lay over the infant,

[1] [See above, ii. 148-149.]

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 207.

[3] [Above, i. 145.]

[4] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 467.

or on the bed beside the mother, a portion of the father's clothes. . . . The suggestion seems to be that the sight of the father's clothes leads 'the good people' to think that he himself is present watching over his offspring."[1] This explanation, shorn of the unnecessary rationalisation, is substantially the same as the one advanced above. The same thing is seen] after the birth of a Chinese baby, when its father's trousers are hung up in the room, "so that all evil influences may enter into them instead of into the child."[2] Similarly, amongst the Basutos, if a child vomits, the medicine-man cuts a piece from the father's *setsiba* garment, and binds it on the child. This helps towards a cure.[3]

Is couvade intended, as anthropologists assert, to preserve the infant only? It may be so, but when we consider the man who dresses up as his wife, and cases where the protection of the wife is explicit, and when we remember also that the savage is a better man than he is generally painted, and has a real altruism and marital responsibility, we may give him credit for the intention to protect his wife no less than his child.[4]

A custom parallel to those in which father and mother, or both, take the child under their protection by putting part of themselves in contact with it, is the common practice whereby the parents assume the name

[1] E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (1891), p. 98. Many examples are given by H. H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker* (1911), i. 100 *et seq.*

[2] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 122.

[3] H. Grützner, "Die Gebräuche der Basutho," *Verhandelungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1877), p. 78.

[4] [Many of the views here expressed, and kindred theories, such as the comparative unimportance of the blood-tie in savage society, put forward in this book, have been also advanced by Dr Westermarck, especially in his chapter on the altruistic sentiment in *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1912-1917), ii. 186 *et seq.*]

of the child. Thus, amongst the Babar islanders, who have the maternal system of descent, the parents change their names at the birth of the first child, thus, *Rahajana umlee*, father of *Rahajana*, and *Rahajana rile*, mother of *Rahajana*.[1] In Wetar the parents are called after the name of the first child, "father of A B," "mother of A B," "because they are now become more important than the barren and unmarried."[2] Parents in the Aru Islands take the name of their first child, thus *Kamis aema*, father of *Kamis*, and *Kamis djina*, mother of *Kamis*,[3] In Leti, Moa and Lakor,[4] and in the Kei Islands,[5] the parents are called by the name of the first child, "father of A B," "mother of A B." Forty days after the birth of a child in Java its head was shaved, and the name was given and announced by the father, who, together with the mother, henceforth bore the name of their son.[6] In Buru,[7] Ceram,[8] and Ceramlaut[9] the parents are called "as a title of respect" by the name of the oldest child. In Halmahera the parents change their names thus at the birth of their first child.[10] Both parents take the name of the first child in Celebes, Sumatra,[11] and amongst the Patagonians.[12] The Dyaks are very fond of children. Parents sink their own names on the birth of the first child, and are called by its name with the prefixes *Pa* and *Ma*. "It illustrates their family pride." Should the eldest child be dead or lost, they are called after the next

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 353.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 450. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 260. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 238. [6] P. J. Veth, *Java* (1886-1907), i. 642.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 5. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 137. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[10] *Id.*, "Halmahera und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 80.

[11] G. A. Wilken, "De primitieve vormen van het huwelijk en den oorsprong van het gezin: Het Matriarchaat," *De Indische Gids* (1881), III. ii. 284.

[12] G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians* (1873), p. 177.

surviving one. Thus, Pa-Jaguen was called Pa-Belal till his daughter Jaguen was restored from slavery by the assistance of the Rajah of Sarawak.[1] In some Australian tribes, "numerical names are given to children in the order of birth, the suffix showing sex. Thus the first child, if a boy, is called *Kertameru*, if a girl, *Kertanya*: the second child in the same way is called *Warritya*, or *Warriarto*. Soon afterwards another name is added from some plant, animal or insect. This name continues until after marriage and the birth of the first child, when the father and mother take the name of the child, with the affix *binna* or *spinna* (adult) for the father, *ngangki* (female) for the mother; thus, Kadli being the child's name, the father is called Kadlispinna, the mother Kadlingangki. The names of both father and mother are thus changed at the birth of every child."[2] Amongst the Bechuanas "the parents take the name of the child." "Our eldest boy," says Livingstone, "being named Robert, Mrs Livingstone was after his birth always addressed as Ma-Robert, instead of Mary, her Christian name."[3]

Tylor explained this custom thus; the husband is "treated as a stranger till his child, being born a member of the family, gives him a status as father of a member of the family," whereupon he ceases to be "cut."[4] But if the father in the same way as Tylor suggested concerning the couvade, borrowed the idea from the mother,

[1] H. Low, *Sarawak* (1848), p. 197; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks* (1870), p. 42.

[2] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (1845), ii 324-325.

[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857), p. 126.

[4] Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 249.

it is hardly likely that the mother originally practised the custom for a quite different reason. If she did it for the same reason that is, to assert her maternity, this ought to pre-suppose a previous paternal system, and if she continued to do it for the same reason, the result is a strange competition. Tylor's explanation fails to take into account the fact that in almost every case, even, as amongst the Babar islanders, in maternal systems, the mother also takes the child's name. Again, why, as amongst the Mayas, should the father call himself by the name of his son, and the mother call herself by the name of the daughter? The son being Ek, and the daughter being Can, the father was named "father of Ek," and the mother "mother of Can."[1] This example shows what is not uncommon, an attempt to supersede relationship by sex.

There is, without doubt, in the practice a sort of assertion both of paternity and of maternity, but not as against the opposing system. This assertion is, as the savage himself has explained, a paternal and maternal expression of pride, just as in the highest stages of civilisation, a man or woman who has a distinguished offspring likes to be referred to as the "father" or "mother of so-and-so." In Madagascar, parents sometimes assume the names of their children, especially should they rise to distinction in the public service, as Raini Mahay, father of Mahay, Raini Maka, father of Maka.[2] The Malagasy have the regular custom also of both parents taking the name of the eldest child, as Raini Soa, father of Soa, Réni Soa, mother of Soa.[3] But when we take into

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (1875-1876), ii. 680.

[2] W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar* (1838), i. 154.

[3] J. Sibree, *Madagascar and its People* [1870], pp. 198-199.

consideration the religious importance of the name in primitive thought, we may confidently infer that this feeling of pride is only secondary, and is combined with the more vital reason, namely, that the parents, father and mother alike, take the child under their protection by taking its name, that vital part of him as it is supposed to be, thus protecting him from those who might take this name in vain or work worse mischief against it, and, by significantly calling themselves father and mother of the child, profess in the most material way their responsibility for it and their relation to it. The practice is an instance of *ngia ngiampe*, but naturally one-sided and not a mutual exchange, for the child is an "infant" still. The method is exactly half of that common form of *ngiampe*, which consists in mutual exchange of names to effect identity and mutual responsibility between two persons. Further, this taking over of the child's personality or part of his soul, so as practically to form a religious surname for the parents, renders them in a real sense the child's "spiritual" parents and protectors, as they are already its biological guardians. They are now its godparents also. There is still another result, however; as the child, on the principle of relation, is the pledge, the *kalduke* between father and mother, this simultaneous adoption by the pair of its name, renews, as between themselves, the relation of *ngia ngiampe* which has been performed at marriage, and which is also inherent in their continuous living together. If we may say so, the act confirms their "spiritual" wedlock, and is a sort of re-marriage. This is natural enough when we consider the fact that the birth of the first child (and it is usually the name of the first child only that is assumed) in savage custom seals finally the marriage alliance, as it is indeed a signal of permanence in the tie and psycho-

logically binds the pair together in the joy that a man is born into the world. This is corroborated by such facts as the Zulu practice. The wife in Zululand is not designated a wife until she has borne a child.[1]

The idea is seen from another side in the not infrequent custom that the husband does not get uncontrolled possession of his bride until she has become a mother. This is part of the explanation of the common practice whereby the husband lives till then with his wife's parents. As this custom is not part of a matriarchal system, so the assumption of the name is no assertion against such, it is simply the completion of the marriage. There are also found actual instances of this potential renewal of marriage at the first birth. Amongst the Todas it is not uncommon for the pair to separate until a second marriage ceremony has taken place. "When it is apparent that they are likely to have a family, this second ceremony ensues. In most respects this corresponds with the preceding one;" the husband ties another *tali* round the neck of his bride. "It is seldom that disunion takes place after this."[2] Just before lying-in the South Celebes wife is practically married again to her husband, she and he being ceremonially covered with one garment, as they were at marriage.[3] The idea here is to secure safety to the woman by reasserting the mutual responsibility of the pair, as in couvade, and is a very natural practice now that the trinity of father, mother and child is about to be actualised. A case already cited shows the principle of *ngiampe* between husband and wife in connection with names, combined

[1] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (1857), p. 74.

[2] H. Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills* (1832), p. 116.

[3] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuider-Celebes* (1875), p. 51.

with the *ngiampe* relation between parent and child. The Andamanese call a young husband by his wife's name; when she is pregnant, he is called by her name with the name of the child prefixed (it is a common practice in early races to name the child before birth), and now the wife also has the child's name prefixed to her own.[1]

The custom is also found rarely at puberty. Amongst the Alfoers when a boy named, for instance, Taleamie, arrives at puberty, his father, named Sapialeh, now calls himself Sapialeh-Taleamie-amay; when his second son reaches puberty he adds his name also, thus, Sapialeh-Taleamie-Karapupuleh-amay.[2] The custom thus merges into the practice of changing the name at puberty. It is also found in marriage. Thus in Buru the father-in-law of Jadet, for instance, is called "father of Jadet."[3] The mother-in-law, as we have seen,[4] commonly makes a *ngiampe* relation with the son-in-law.

Here we come back again to sexual taboo as between husband and wife. The practice naturally coincides sometimes with the taboo on the names of husband and wife. In savage custom, as we have seen,[5] rarely is any one addressed by his real name; to do so, is to place such a one in danger, it is a wrong done to his personality. Responsibility between husband and wife emphasises this rule. Thus amongst the Barea[6] and Beni-Amer[7]

[1] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 129.

[2] — Schulze, "Ceram und seine Bewohner," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1877), p. 121.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 5.

[4] [Above, ii. 171.] [5] [Above, i. 150, 164-165.]

[6] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 526.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

the wife may not utter her husband's name. Perak women in talking of their husbands use a periphrasis which means "house and house-ladder," and is tantamount to saying "my household" instead of "my husband."[1] Amongst the Tuyangs a man will speak of his wife as "my dull thorn," or "the thorn in my ribs," or "the mean one of the inner room."[2] The idea is not so much contempt as a desire to protect her personality. Amongst the natives of the New Hebrides a woman after marriage is called "wife of so-and-so," a practice common everywhere, and identical in principle with the modern European custom.[3] The custom of calling the parent "father" or "mother of the child" is a convenient way of avoiding the use of the personal name, both generally and as between husband and wife. Amongst the Zulus there is the rule in connection with *hlonipa*, that all females related to the girl's family may never call her husband by name, but "father of so-and-so." If there are no children they call him *umkweniana*. "They think it not respectful to call him by his name, and so with all young persons to old ones." The son-in-law will not call his mother-in-law by name, but simply "mother," and the wife is called "so-and-so of so-and-so," "child of her father." A woman must not call her father by name, either to him or of him, but "father of so-and-so."[4] Amongst the Zulus the child often has its name given before birth, "probably because it is not considered etiquette for the people of the bridegroom's *kraal* to speak to or of the

[1] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 369.

[2] A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê* (1883), p. 250.

[3] B. T. Somerville, "Notes on Some Islands of the New Hebrides," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 7.

[4] D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* (1875), p. 173; H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (1868-1870), p. 316.

bride by her own name," and she is therefore frequently known as "the mother of so-and-so," before the marriage has taken place, although women more correctly take the name or surname of their father on marriage ; for instance, a woman whose father's name is Jiba is Oka-Jiba, "she of Jiba," that is, daughter of Jiba. If a woman is known as "mother of Nobatagati," her first child will receive that name if it be a girl ; if a boy, the masculine form, Matagati, will be used.[1]

As has been already noted,[2] the parents protect the child by taking its name into their keeping. The ideas so prevalent as to the importance of the name and the dangers that may threaten it may be referred to once more. The Dyaks alter the name of a sick child to deceive the evil spirits.[3] The Tonquinese give children horrid names to frighten away evil spirits.[4] Amongst the Cingalese the name of the child never transpires ; it is known to the father and astrologer alone. The father gives it by whispering it in the child's ear. At puberty it receives a new name.[5] In Abyssinia one's baptismal name is concealed to prevent evil spirits injuring one thereby.[6] The name of a child is never mentioned in Guiana, "because those who know the name would thus have the child in their power."[7]

The name-giving is therefore naturally regarded as an important business. It is practically always a religious act, as it gives the child a personality, a soul. Sexual

[1] E. G. Carbutt, "Some Minor Superstitions and Customs of the Zulus," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1880), ii. 15.

[2] [Above, ii. 188-190.]

[3] S. St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (1862), i. 197.

[4] A. Bastian, *Die Voelker des oestlichen Asien* (1866-1871), iv. 386.

[5] J. Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon* (1840), i. 326.

[6] M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia* (1853), i. 301.

[7] Sir E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (1883), p. 220.

taboo here finds a place, as in Luang Sermata[1] and Ceram,[2] where the father names the boys and the mother the girls. In Hawaii a son, when hardly weaned, took the father's name, and the mother was no longer allowed to eat with the child or to touch its food.[3] The importance of the ceremony is brought out in the custom of giving up the name when a person bearing it dies.

The giving of a name, as of anything else, also produces, no less than the taking of a name, the *ngiampe* relation ; the gift is, as such, a real part of one's self. Thus the Koosas have the custom of giving a man a new name, which no one knows but he who gives it. It is regarded as a very great honour.[4] The already subsisting *ngiampe* relation between parent and child is thus emphasised when the parent gives it a name, as it is when he takes it. In European folklore there is a common belief, natural as a result of ideas of contact, that the characteristics of the person who gives the child its name, or of those who bear the same name, or of godparents generally, affect the child. There is a Sioux custom called "the transfer of character ;" a brave and good man breathes into the infant's mouth.[5] Lastly, the idea that the name is an external soul may be illustrated from the Todas. From fear of the evil eye an infant may not be seen by anyone except its parents until it receives a name. Then at last it may be shown to

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 327.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[3] J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1834-1835), i. 475.

[4] H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa* (1812-1815), i. 258. Cp. *Revelation*, ii. 17, xix. 12.

[5] J. O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1894 for 1889-1890), xi. 482.

outsiders,[1] the idea being that it is rendered secure by having a double personality, part of which can be easily concealed or withheld.

The ceremonial uncleanness attaching to the mother is one of the most universal results of sexual taboo. The separation between husband and wife after a birth is often prolonged until the child is weaned, the idea being that milk, as a female secretion, is a specially dangerous vehicle for transmission of her effeminate properties. Hence the infant, from contact with the mother, is also "unclean," that is, "dangerous," in the taboo sense, no less than it is in danger. To this idea is due the practice, which is fairly common, of taking boys away from the mother as soon as possible. The interest taken by all women in a birth, as well as in a baby, and the diffidence found in the male sex concerning the same, arise straight from sexual differentiation ; the next development of this is the common psychological phenomenon that women both resent indifference as to the event, and for a time express diffidence, a sort of fear of causing disgust, in connection with the first showing of the child to the father. Amongst the Northern Indians the mother is "unclean" for five weeks after birth, and remains in a separate hut. No male may approach her, not even her husband ; if he were to see mother and child, it is feared that "he might take a dislike to the latter."[2] The recognition of the child by the father follows as a matter of course upon such a principle. The Kurnai infant is first taken to the father's brother, and then to the father.[3]

[1] H. H. Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills* (1832), p. 99.

[2] S. Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (1795), p. 93. Cp. W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (1896), i. 277.

[3] L. Fison *and* H. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 204.

The object is doubtless to make the former a go-between, and so to facilitate the natural course of paternal emotion. Amongst the Basutos the father is separated from mother and child for four days. He is introduced to them thus: the medicine-man performs a ceremony called "the helping, or the absolution of the man and wife." If this is not done, the husband will swell up, or, if he goes to his wife, he will die. The *lepheko*, a log four or six feet long, which is laid in front of the door when anyone is sick, is brought, and she is set on it, and the husband put opposite her so that their legs touch. The medicine-man then rubs them all over with a preparation of roots and fat. Healing water is also drunk first by the husband and then by the wife.[1] The name and nature of this ceremony well show the ideas of taboo behind it, and also point to the inference that it is another renewal of the marriage tie, similar to the South Celebes custom.

The ideas of sexual taboo are responsible for such customs as this of the Zulus. The first-born and second-born sons cannot inherit, "because," say the Zulus in a vague way, "they are the sons of the womb."[2] This is an interesting detail in the history of primogeniture.

As to the taboo on the infant, the Rotti belief that the first hair of a child is not its own and unless cut off will make him weak, is explained ultimately as being due to connection with the mother.[3] All the contagious matter, however, is removed from mother and child by

[1] H. Grützner, "Die Gebräuche der Basuthos," *Verhandelungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (1877), p. 78.

[2] T. Arbousset *and* F. Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (1846), p. 149.

[3] "Beknopt Overziggt der Reize van den Gouverneur Generaal G. A. G. Ph. Baron van der Capellen, naar het Oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen Archipel," *Tijdschrift voor Neerland's Indie* (1839), II. ii. 635.

the usual purification ceremonies. The churching of women is a development of this. In Malay, ceremonial "lustration is generally accomplished either by means of fire or of water. . . . Infants are purified by fumigation, and women after child-birth are half-roasted over the purificatory fire." [1]

The principles of responsibility in *ngia ngiampe* have in this connection an interesting result. For instance, in Wetar the parents may not name their child, "for it would thus be liable to illness." [2] Such parental anxiety for the child's safety, combined with the primitive impulse to shift responsibility as the best way of meeting it, is the ultimate *raison d'être* of godparents. The principle is similar to that of the relation of parents-in-law. In primitive thought both sets of persons are religious representatives. The godparents are proxies for the real parents, and as such render the responsibilities of the latter easier. Similar relations are those formed between the operators and the boys operated upon at initiation ceremonies, and between the bridesmen and the bride, and the taboo there resulting is often paralleled by a taboo between godparents and children. Amongst the Haidas at the ceremony of naming the child a sister of the father holds it and becomes its godmother. At the circumcision of a Hova boy the parent or other person who holds it, and also the operator, are called *rani jaza*, "father of a child." A woman also acts as mother on the occasion, and is called "mother of a child." "They are a kind of godfather and godmother." [3] Godparents

[1] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 77.

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 449.

[3] J. Sibree, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 40.

are also found among many other peoples. Their representation of the parents is shown in European folklore, as in Thüringen, where they receive each a half of the christening cake. In Altmark bread and cheese are given to the godparents, who divide it between themselves. All over Europe it is the practice for them to give each other presents. Their responsibilities are illustrated by the German notion that they must be chosen carefully, because all their qualities, especially moral ones, pass to the child. In Voigtland and Franconia the godfather must be careful to wash, else the child will be unclean in habits. In the Erzgebirg he may not carry a knife, for fear the child may develop suicidal mania. Godparents must fast, that the child may not be greedy. The taboos are illustrated by the prohibition regular in Europe, that godparents may not marry either their godchildren or each other.[1]

Lastly, there is an interesting case of that method of securing safety by spreading one's identity over a number of similar persons, which has been illustrated in connection with Saturnalia.[2] Union, as was seen,[3] is a result of this. In the Kei Islands after the name-giving the parents entertain all the children of the village.[4] After the infant has been bathed the parents in Ceramlaut feast some children of the village.[5] Shortly after a birth in Amboina three to five children are brought into the chamber and there feasted.[6] The reason behind these customs is shown by the following cases. In Amboina, if a child does not thrive, the parents gave a feast to the

[1] H. H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker* (1911-1912), i. 323 *et seq.*

[2] [Above, i. Ch. XII.] [3] [Above, i. 360.]

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 238.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 174. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

children of the village ; these latter are supposed to give presents to the sick child.[1] In other words, a *ngiampe* relation is established. The next cases show the principles of securing safety by substitution. Soon after a birth the Watubella mother bathes in the sea, accompanied by eight or ten children out of the village. If she is too weak to go, another woman takes her place. On the way these children have to shout continually "in order to divert the attention of the evil spirits from the child."[2] The Thlinkeets hold festivals "in honour of children." Slaves to the number of the children for whom the celebration is made receive their liberty. The operation of boring the ears of the children is performed on this occasion.[3]

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 75. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 207.
[3] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (1870), p. 420.

CHAPTER XVII

THE MARRIAGE SYSTEM

The study of the marriage system has been blocked, owing to the neglect of students to use primitive data of custom and thought for the explanation of rules invented by primitive man. By using modern or relatively late conceptions of relationship, generally legal in character, and by ignoring the significant series of facts which show the primitive relations of men and women, and on which, rather than on later legal ideas, primitive marriage and primitive relationship rest, they have explained the origin of marriage ceremonies and the marriage system on legal lines, and have thus been led to attribute to early man such monstrosities of improbability, as the general practice of female infanticide and of marriage by capture, promiscuity of wives, the group-marriage and general incest.[1] Moreover, they have been compelled on their theory to explain certain ceremonial acts, the religious character of which is obvious, as being legal fictions. The reconstruction, however, of primitive society cannot be effected with "bricks of law," but only with bricks of human nature mortared by religion.

In order to explain the origin of the marriage system,

[1] [Lord Avebury, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion* (1911), pp. 44-45, in quoting fragments of this sentence, observes that he read it with surprise, in view of the "overwhelming evidence" in favour of group-marriage, many instances of which Mr Crawley is alleged to give himself at pp. 325 *et seq.* Neither at this reference, which corresponds to ii. 38 *et seq.* in the present edition, nor anywhere else in this book are, or could be, any such instances given.]

that is, the relation of marriage to relationship, we must first penetrate to the ideas which underlie human relations generally, and sexual relations in particular. This has been done and as a result we have worked out the primitive conception of marriage and its responsibilities, and the origin of the marriage ceremonies and practices which arise from that conception. Secondly, we must reach the ideas behind the primitive conception of relationship. This also has been done. Relationship comes from relation, and the primitive conception of human relations. As Messrs Spencer and Gillen remark of Australian relationship, we must, in order to understand it, first disabuse our minds of the modern conceptions of kinship.

The chief characteristics of the primitive marriage system, as is well known, is exogamy. But it is no less the characteristic of all marriage systems in every age. For what is exogamy? It is often strangely misunderstood; but obviously the one invariable antecedent in all exogamous systems, indeed in all marriage systems, is the prohibition of marriage "within the house." This prohibition is the essence of exogamy and of all bars to marriage. We have shown[1] how sexual taboo produces a religious separation of children in the home; originally based on the sexual difference which leads the father to take the boys about with him, while the mother takes the girls, it is afterwards enforced by the principles of sexual taboo, and its extension by the use of relationships produces the various forms of exogamy. [A contemporary example of this process may be quoted. In Rumania not only is blood-relationship to, and including, the third degree, a bar to marriage, but also what is

[1] [Above, i. 260-270.]

called "relationship in Christ," that is, godparent relationship, to the seventh degree. The result is that in the villages young people who want to get married have to go outside of their own neighbourhood, that is, they have to practice exogamy.][1] Robertson Smith set the question in the right direction when he said, "whatever is the origin of bars to marriage, they certainly are early associated with the feeling that it is indecent for housemates to inter-marry."[2] If we apply to the word "indecent" the connotation of sexual taboo, which gave rise amongst other things to the especial meaning of this word, and if we understand by "housemates" those upon whom sexual taboo concentrates, we have explained exogamy.

It is unscientific to have recourse to an hypothesis of primitive incest or promiscuity. The frequent myths which seem to countenance the suggestion are easily explained by the ideas of sexual taboo, which attach potential "sin" to any sexual relation. All the facts are distinctly opposed to any probability that incest or promiscuity was ever really practised at all. We shall return to this point when discussing "group-marriage."

On the other hand, Dr Westermarck's explanation of the prohibition against marriage of near kin is equally mistaken. He supposes that there is a general human "instinct"[3] against inbreeding, resulting from the survival of those peoples who have avoided it, inbreeding being assumed to be deleterious. In the first place, this presupposes in some remote period a general use of the very practice which elsewhere he argues was never general. In the next place, though many attempts have

[1] A. Flachs, *Rumänische Hochzeits- und Totengebräuche* (1899), p. 11.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885), p 170.

[3] [See below, ii. 208, 208*n*[3].]

been made to do so, it has never yet been rendered even probable that inbreeding, as such, is deleterious to the race.[1] Evidence drawn from animals in domesticity, or from civilised peoples, proves nothing with regard to primitive man, the conditions being so entirely different. The utmost that can be shown by such evidence is that inbreeding perpetuates or reproduces congenital taints. This result is important enough, but it was other considerations that led man to avoid incest, not inbreeding, for the latter has rarely been avoided at all. The well-known statistics of Professor G. H. Darwin really left the question undecided. Dr Westermarck considers that they proved the injurious results,[2] while most enquirers consider that they proved the contrary. A satisfactory statistical proof requires a higher percentage than this, little short in fact of a hundred thousand to one. On the other hand, there is at least one case of a people living more or less in a state of nature, who actually seem to be physically benefited by inbreeding, namely, certain Fijian stocks, with whom first cousins are required to marry. Sir Basil Thomson has shown that these Fijians are considerably the superiors in all the usual physical tests, of those who forbid cousin-marriage.[3] Mr Curr states that the Australian natives he knew were well aware that the aim of the marriage system was to prevent the union of nearly related individuals; but he could not discover on what ground consanguineous marriages were held to be objectionable.[4] As to the disadvantages of inbreeding, the Australians whom he knew were quite ignorant.[5] Certain South American

[1] [Cp. E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii. 218 *et seq.*] [2] [*Ibid.*, ii. 224.]

[3] Sir B. H. Thomson, "Concubitancy in the Classificatory System of Relationship," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 383 *et seq.*

[4] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), i. 112.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 236.

tribes give no other reason for avoidance between near relatives except "shame." [1] Huth gives much evidence to show that there is no innate horror of incest in man.[2] The peasants of the Government of Archangel say that marriages between blood-relations are "blessed with a rapid increase of children." [3]

Again, in nearly all the exogamous systems known, that is, in the common type of two exogamous classes, and also in the less common type of two exogamous classes each split into two sub-classes, it is necessitated by the system that first cousins, when children of a brother and sister, may marry, and where the system is, as is generally the case, rigidly followed, are expected to marry.[4] This, however, is no more a proof of primitive inbreeding and incest, than is the Archangel notion.

If then there is an instinct against inbreeding, it stultifies itself in a very curious way. Also the evidence which Dr Westermarck cites necessarily concerns cousin-marriage chiefly, and yet he is forced to come back to an "instinct" against marriage between housemates, though cousins are rarely such. It would be more correct to say that there is an instinct *for* inbreeding, which is checked by human religious ideas. He does not make allowance, in connection with the prohibition between housemates, for the common prohibition of marriage between first cousins (when children of two brothers or of two sisters), who do not live together, and between totemic tribe-fellows, for instance, who have never seen

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1901), p. 318.

[2] A. H. Huth, *The Marriage of Near Kin considered with respect to the Law of Nations* (1875), pp. 10-14.

[3] M. Kowalewsky, "Marriage among the Early Slavs," *Folk-Lore* (1890), i. 469.

[4] [Cp. A. E. Crawley, "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (1907), pp. 51 *et seq.*]

each other; nor does he explain the common fact that persons entirely unrelated, though living together, may marry (the "instinct" against inbreeding would here show the wonderful insight that "instinct" was once supposed to possess), or the more common fact that persons entirely unrelated who live together may not marry (here the "instinct" would seem to have been easily duped).

There is also the remarkable fact, as has been seen,[1] that to no little extent brothers and sisters, mothers and sons, fathers and daughters do *not* live together. This is a result of sexual taboo, and is originally a part of the cause why such marriage is avoided, and not a result of the avoidance of incest.

Lastly, it is not scientific to use the term "instinct" of this kind of thing.[2] Instinct proper is only concerned with immediate processes of function; it is physiological thought, and has nothing in its content except response of function to environment. Instinct possesses neither tradition nor prophecy.

The present hypothesis gives the reason why brothers and sisters in some cases do not live together, which reason is also the chief factor in producing what is really a complex feeling, the subconscious or conscious "aversion" to love and marriage, first, between those who are in continuous contact, and secondly, between those who are not. In the simple form of the aversion we have seen[3] the intensification of sexual taboo in the closeness of the family circle, where no dangerous acts

[1] [See Index, *s.v.* "Separation."]

[2] [Dr Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 197, now avoids the use of this term; but see his *The Origin and Development of the Moral Idea* (1912-1917), ii. 374 *n.*[2].]

[3] [See Index, *s.v.* "Eating and drinking together forbidden."]

may be performed, such as eating in some cases, to the extent that parents prevent brothers and sisters from eating together, speaking together, or having any ordinary physical relations. These prohibitions are an accentuated form of the taboo of personal isolation, inherent in human relations. They of course include the dangerous act of marriage. They are not due originally to a fear of incest, as such, but to the fear of sexual contagion of properties, of which the idea of incest is one particular result. Practically all sexual relations, and not merely intercourse, are "incest" for primitive man, in his sense of the word—the breaking of a taboo instituted to prevent the dangerous results of a physical contact between persons who are *quâ* sexual, mutually dangerous; and it would be easy to show that, psychologically, the belief in the injurious results of inbreeding is of religious origin, and parallel to the belief that sickness is due to sin or to violation of taboo.

As showing that sexual intercourse is not the chief or only relation that is feared, it is to be observed that amongst several peoples illicit connections between the young before they are of age to marry are allowed, though illicit marriage is strictly forbidden. Licence before marriage is very common in the East Indies.[1] It is allowed between members of "classes" that may not intermarry in some Australian tribes, of the Lower Murray, Lower Darling and perhaps the Port Lincoln and Kunandaburi tribes,[2] but it is probable that these

[1] G. A. Wilken, "Plechtigheden en Gebruiken bij Verlovingen en Huwelijken bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1889), xxxviii. 438 *et seq.*

[2] R. B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878), i. 37; C. W. Schürmann, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia," in *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879), p. 222; Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910).

Australian cases, if all the facts were known, would bear another explanation. Here, as in marriage itself, it is the living together, the permanent contact, the sharing of life at bed and board, together with the procreation of children, that are the important things.

The other factor in the simple form of the prohibition is a psychological result of sexual solidarity and sexual taboo. The bringing-up of children in this manner produces what is a psychological impossibility of love between brothers and sisters. Separation before the sexual instinct shows itself, has in effect set the consciousness outwards by the time puberty arrives, and then, when the sexual instinct has appeared, it is biassed towards realisation out of the "house," and this is actually what occurs; for out of the house the prohibition is not so stringent nor so carefully enforced, while love is produced by chance meetings with acquaintances. This coincides with the psychological fact that love's awakening turns the mind away from what is familiar and known towards what is strange and romantic.

We may now pass to cases where the children are not strictly separated. Here, when living together becomes a sentiment, we have reached the complex form of the prohibition. It is the relation of *ngia ngiampe* once more. Living together, especially where commensality is allowed, forms one of the closest bonds of mutual respect and duty. Originally the feeling of duty is one of reciprocal caution, if not fear, for each person has part of the other in his or her keeping. But this conception soon merges into that of mutual responsibility, and between the parties concerned any dangerous relation such as marriage is out of the question. It is not convenient, it is improper, it is an offence against

the harmony of the house for such dangerous relations to occur, and parents prevent such occurrences. The case is identical with that of eating together. As we have seen,[1] such dangerous functions are often not permitted in the house or family circle at all, where in the confined space and personal proximity their dangerousness would be intensified. Moreover, it is natural that parents should apply their own experience for the advantage of their children. They know, if not the responsibilities, at least the superstitious dangers attaching to any relations between the sexes, and in particular, accustomed as they are to refer all mutual disagreements, perils of the soul and body alike, in sexual and other crises, to their own reciprocal action and mutually dangerous relations, that is, to the principles of mutual contact (*ngia ngiampe*), they will naturally prevent any repetition of such contact between their children.

In this question we see fully developed once more the primitive ideas of contact in relation, and, in particular, how physical relations of any sort, including that of marriage, are tabooed, first between persons different enough or distant enough to be spiritually or physically dangerous ; and secondly, between persons near enough and closely enough connected to be mutually responsible, that is, potentially dangerous in a more complex way, to each other. In the former, danger is intensified, in the latter, duty.

Of the former, the typical result is the Ceramese and Wetarese practice of forbidding marriage between members of villages who have made a military alliance by the *pela* ceremony, the nature of the ceremony

[1] [See Index, *s.v.* "Eating and drinking together forbidden."]

preventing treachery, while it brings them into the second class of persons ;[1] of the latter the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters.

In the former, again, there is implied the impulse to endogamy, as seen in the constant marriage of cousins, in the latter the impulse to exogamy, which, in its lowest terms, is the avoidance between brothers and sisters.

Lastly, at puberty, the separation between brothers and sisters is stereotyped, both by natural and by artificial means. Where ceremonies of initiation obtain, the bond of initiation, simultaneous or otherwise, connects the boys of the community together on the one hand, and the girls on the other, by a close tie of the *ngiampe* species, and thus the way is prepared for an extension of the prohibition. Fellow-initiates become "brothers" and "sisters." Thus, amongst the Kurnai all the young men who have been initiated at the same time are "brothers" and address each other's wives as "wife ;"[2] this is identical with those cases where fellow-initiates form guilds.

[This psychological analysis of the origin of exogamy may be supplemented by an attempt at historical reconstruction.[3] "A fact ignored by the discoverer of exogamy is this, that, while it forbids the union of brother and sister, some cousins and so on, it is actually inbreeding of a close kind. All the facts tend to show that primitive man relied for his wives on friendly arrangements as a rule. From his point of view, the

[1] [See above, i. 293, 304, 314, ii. 150.]

[2] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 198.

[3] [The following pages on the origin of exogamy are an extract, with a few trifling alterations and omissions, from Mr Crawley's "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* (1907), pp. 54-60.]

ideal state of things would be that every tribe should be dual, so that wives could be obtained without friction or difficulty. And this is precisely what we find in many uncivilised peoples. The tribe is divided into two exogamous sections or phratries; marriage outside the tribe is forbidden, and also within the phratry, but is commanded between the two phratries. The mechanical operation of descent, paternal or maternal, on the names, totemic or otherwise, makes the units of a phratry 'brothers' and 'sisters.' This interesting arrangement is now well known.[1] How is its origin to be explained?

"My view of the two phratries is, that, as we find them, they are two great families, in the second and wider sense of the term, and that they sprang from two families in the narrower sense. In other words, they are the 'sides of the house' and in one great dual family. These two original families intermarried, this is the first step, and continued to intermarry generation after generation. Each was originally exogamous, and of course remains so because the members of each bear the same name, and are therefore 'akin,' whether really so or theoretically matters not to the savage, but as a fact they will be so related. The two phratries thus come first.

"The phratry-names, are usually unintelligible, and therefore probably older than the names of the smaller families or totem-kins which compose the phratries.

[1] "In New Britain they are called after the two powers of Good and Evil, *To Kabinana* and *To Kovuvuru*. As descriptive terms for them we have *Veve* in Melanesia, which means 'division,' and appears to have obtained the further connotation of 'motherhood'; amongst the Karens they have no names, but are described as *Pah-tee*, 'of descent from the father's side,' and *Mo-tee*, 'of descent from the mother's side.' In Fiji members of the two sides of the house in each family are described as marriageable, concubitants. There is nothing totemic here."

This is one indication that the two phratries are themselves also earlier.

"Secondly, the totemic small families which make up each phratry are younger branches of the original dual family which have come in through marriage of women taken from other groups and giving their names to their children. Such a family name would naturally be nearer, as it were, to those who bore it than the name of the greater family of which they form a younger branch. Mr Howitt has observed that the totems are living names, part of the living language, and invariably derived from natural objects found in the tribal country; the phratry-name is general, 'the totem-name is in one sense individual, for it is certainly nearer to the individual than the name of his moiety.'

"The two phratries are thus developed by a natural growth and are not due to a deliberate bisection of an existing community. They are implicit in the first marriage, which is the nucleus of the future community. The totem-kins are not subdivisions, but younger branches of the old families. Families of the one great family cannot intermarry because they belong to that family, and they marry into the other great family because it is 'the other side.'

"It may be asked, why two families? Well, two families are needed in every marriage, the family of the husband and the family of the wife. Why should they continue to intermarry? Why not? Wives are not easy to come by in early society except from friends, and the pressure of external circumstances will set a premium on such combination. But will not the two families very soon become too nearly related? They will become related, but not too nearly, for the children who marry in every generation will have different names, the one being

that of the female side of the dual family, and the other that of the male. The intermarriage of the two phratries is often obscured in the minds of investigators by the prohibition to marry in the same phratry, but in the native view it is just as important. Lastly, it is only cousins who can marry, and as the earliest peoples have no term for cousin, it is probable that this relationship was not originally regarded as being more than a friendly relation.

"I suppose two friendly fire-circles, consisting each of father, mother and one or more children. It does not matter whether the two are related or not. They will naturally exchange daughters in marriage to their sons. This is the most usual method of obtaining wives in Australia, and is, I think the most primitive. Thus we get two or more new fire-circles in the close neighbourhood of the old, the friendly relation will be emphasised by all the circumstances of a nomadic life, and the two connected families will keep together. I presume an exogamous tendency, already explained,[1] towards marrying outside of the fire-circle, combined with a preference to marry those of the same age. The next generation will, so far as the balance of the sexes allows, marry in the same way, this time cousins. They do not recognise any real relationship in this as yet, as the earliest savages do not; what is always known, at least by modern savages, is the relationship of parent and child, brother and sister. These people then may be supposed to know who belongs to the two families. At any rate as soon as names are applied there will be no difficulty in distinguishing them. The system works both with male and female descent, with either totemic or numerical,

[1] [Above, ii. 210-212.]

local or descriptive names, nicknames or complimentary appellatives. With female descent the two names will be dotted here and there ; with male descent the holders of one name will tend to be grouped together. The latter state of things may end in local exogamy. There is an important principle probably universal in early times, that a wife does not take the name of, or become kin to, her husband. This creates a perpetual potentiality of marriage between her side of the house and her husband's, and doubtless had much to do with delaying the recognition of relationship between those cousins who have different names. The two families will in the second generation see themselves reproduced, and also in third and following, by the two sets of intermarrying cousins.

"With regard to cousins and their mating let us note, first, that it has been proved that this union is by no means deleterious to the offspring. Cousin-marriage is a well-known mark of dual exogamy, but it occurs in a form which may seem strange, if one does not make a diagram. The peculiarity is that while the children of two brothers may not marry, nor the children of two sisters, the children of a brother and a sister may. This is an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited ; it makes no difference whether male or female descent is used. The children of the brother and sister Smith may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries.

"This peculiarity was first noted by Tylor, who called it cross-cousin-marriage. All peoples who allow cross-cousin-marriage thereby show that they recognise the two sides of the house, and have the germ of the phratry system. Cousin-marriage generally is the most favourite connection among the early peoples. Mr Fison says that 'in some parts of Ireland, at the present day, a girl will

Smith m. = Jones f.
Smith m.
Smith f.
(cousins: may not marry).
Smith m. = Jones f.
Smith f.
Smith m.
(cousins: may not marry).
Jones m. = Smith f.
Smith f.
Jones m.
(cousins: may not marry).
Jones m. = Smith f.
Jones f.
Jones m.
(cousins: may not marry).

sometimes reveal the state of her affections to the youth on whom she has set her heart, by saying, "I wish I were your cousin." And this is understood to be an offer of marriage.' It is what may be called the endogamous tendency, and the cousin-marriage termed 'cross' is the key to the phratry system. In the two-phratry system of the Iroquois, each phratry is called a 'brotherhood'; the families of phratry A are 'brother'-families to each other, and 'cousin'-families to those of phratry B, and *vice versa*, a case which, so far, proves the whole business.

"But how is this dual family, the nucleus of a possible tribe, to grow? It does not seem ever to have been pointed out that cousin-marriage, and all such 'endogamy,' tend to check the increase of numbers within a tribe. Two pairs of cousins marry, making two new fire-circles, and have, say, two children apiece. These also marry. The result is two family-circles and perhaps four children, who may in their turn marry. If cousins had been forbidden to marry, we should have had eight fire-circles and perhaps sixteen children.[1] Exogamy thus in the wider sense, but not McLennan's, has an important bearing on the making of nations. In such a dual family as we are assuming, it will soon happen that the supply of cousin fails; the balance of the sexes will be unequal; young men will therefore have to get their wives from elsewhere, or young men from elsewhere may be allowed to join the group. It is not likely that this latter method of getting rid of superfluous women would be adopted at an early stage—polygamy would be preferred. But

[1] [This is only true on the assumption that the group absorbs both males and females, and then it is only true for the absorbing group, for the group or groups members of which are absorbed, would naturally lose in the same ratio as the absorbing group gained.]

polygamy seems a rather late development, and in any case there would be a limit to the polygamous capacity of early man, male individualism, moreover, would object to male intruders. However, allowing for these exceptions, the main point is that sometimes a man would get a wife from a friendly group, by exchange of a sister or other arrangement. It is this introduction of fresh women that brings new blood into the family, and causes it to expand by producing new branches of the two original families, in time raising the dual family to the proportions of a tribe.

"I think this theory of the origin of the two-phratry system may claim the advantages that (1) it explains the bisection as a natural growth without calling in the aid of any arbitrary and deliberate legislation. It gives a method by which the division could arise automatically; (2) it explains (and these are difficulties in other explanations) why the families of one phratry may not marry among themselves; (3) it does not begin with local exogamy; (4) it enables us to do without the self-contradictory and unwarranted hypothesis of an 'undivided commune' with all its difficulties, especially the difficulties of getting into it and of getting out of it; (5) it coincides with the express statements of all those aboriginal thinkers (whose wits are not inferior to those of the average civilised man), to the effect that all these exogamous groupings are connected with kinship, real kinship, though conveniently, as with us to some extent, identified with name kinship; (6) it excludes from an unwarranted pre-eminence the system of totemism; (7) it is of universal application. It explains those rare cases where the phratries are more than two; those where they exist, but have no names, mere 'sides of the house,' and those in which various names, sometimes fanciful,

have been applied later. It shows that the germ of dual exogamy is contained in every marriage and therefore in every family; those peoples who have not developed this, have to thank better circumstances, less external pressure, than fell to the lot of people like the Australians; (8) and lastly, it enables us to trace the origin and growth of the tribe in a natural and convincing way from the family."]

All terms of relationship, it is to be noted, are in primitive thought also terms of relation. They are both terms of kinship and terms of address. Here may be reconciled a somewhat bitter controversy between those who hold the former and those who hold the latter connotation of classificatory terms. In all ages terms of relationship are terms of relationship, but no less are they, secondarily, terms of address. Of primitive times this is especially true, for "kinship" in primitive thought is a vaguer term than in later culture, not because of any primitive promiscuity, but because the tie of blood had not attained prominence over looser ties of contact and identity of age. To the primitive man such a term as "brother" includes men of his own age who are in more or less close contact with him, and "sister" includes women in the same way. So with terms like "husband" and "wife." There is also often to be seen a very natural confusion between these two sets of terms. A "wife" is a woman of one's own generation, but so is one's sister; the same applies to "husband" and "brother," *mutatis mutandis*. This is brought out by the very widely spread use of the words "brother" and "sister" by young people and even by lovers. In Ceramlaut young people call each other "brother"

and "sister."[1] Friends in the Aru Islands call each other "brother."[2] In the Babar Islands lovers call each other "brother" and "sister."[3] Indeed, it seems that early man finds it difficult to rise above the confused notion that all women of his own age are potential "sisters," just as we may infer from many facts cited above a similar difficulty in surmounting the similar idea that any connection with any women of that age is equivalent to marriage. Thus, potentially, brothers and sisters are, in primitive thought, already "married" through having lived together, and therefore, as it were, cannot be married actually. This confusion between "wife" and "sister" is shown by a Kurnai explanation of a practice at initiation. Behind each youth there sits a girl called *Krau-un*. She is a "comrade" and not a wife; the Kurnai "carefully pointed out that they were like sisters and not like wives." Such girls are often cousins of the boys.[4]

Next as to relationships beginning with those persons who live together more or less, it is to be noted that habitual proximity and contact is the strongest and most ordinary tie, and is earlier in thought than the tie of blood. The strong conception of the tie of blood, best seen in feudal and semi-civilised societies, is by no means so strong in primitive culture. [Dr Malinowski goes so far as to say that among the Australians "consanguinity in its social sense does not exist."][5] Identity of "flesh" if not of food, that is, commensality, are both earlier in thought than that of blood. A

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 153.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 260. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

[4] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 195.

[5] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), p. 179.

test case for psychology is perhaps that closest of ties, the one between mother and child; here in all stages of human culture, the idea of the tie of blood is psychologically the last to appear; mutual affection and the relations of help and dependence result from that tie, but psychologically that tie is ignored. Psychologically speaking, relationship develops originally from relations, and in primitive thought, relations are the test of kinship and not *vice versa*. The relative lateness of the idea of the blood-tie is also indicated by the views held by such early races as the Central Australians, for instance, upon the facts of conception and birth. In the Arunta tribe every member is born "as a reincarnation of the never-dying spirit-part of one of these semi-animal ancestors." This principle is not the result of intercourse, which only prepares the mother for its reception. The sacred *Erathipa* "child" stone has a hole through which spirit-children look out for women who may pass, and it is believed that visiting the stone will result in conception. "If a young woman has to pass near the stone, and does not wish to have a child, she will carefully disguise her youth, distorting her face and walking with the aid of a stick. She will bend herself double like a very old woman, the tones of whose voice she will imitate, saying, 'Don't come to me, I am an old woman.'" A black line is painted above the hole, and is always renewed by any man who visits it. A similar black line, called by the same name, is painted above the eye of a new-born child to prevent sickness. A man may cause women to be pregnant, even at a distance, by rubbing the stone and repeating a charm. Or, if a man wants to punish his wife for supposed unfaithfulness, he rubs it, saying, "Go quickly and hang on tightly." That is, the child is to remain so long in the woman as to cause her death. If

a man and wife desire a child, he ties his hair-girdle round it.[1] The Arunta, who hold these views, count descent through the father. The old superstitious ideas still obtain, though the biological fact is practically admitted. Another indication that the tie of blood is later is the fact that in some Australian tribes the boys follow the father in descent, and the girls the mother.[2] Lastly, it is the name, and not the blood that in most early societies is the chief test of classificatory or totemic relationship, in maternal and paternal descent alike ;[3] and also these very relationships have as their essential purpose not relationship but prevention of marriage.

If one thinks over the matter, it is obvious that the inference of identity of flesh and blood would be a later achievement than the inference of vague connection between a mother or father and child ; and though the biological ties were certain, with the increase of knowledge, to supersede other conceptions, and practically were always used, yet there are many facts which point to attempts on the part of other ideas of relation to become conceptions of relationships. It is to be noted also that the idea of the blood-tie cannot explain most of these, except by such forced analogy as is quite impossible.

In the account of *ngia ngiampe* we reviewed[4] the more artificial forms of "relationship." Of other forms, firstly, identity of sex very commonly amounts to a relationship, and where sexual taboo is well developed, it is perhaps the strongest tie of all. It is a result of sexual solidarity, and assumes various forms. For instance, in

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 228-229, 265, 337-338.

[2] See below, ii. 230 *et seq.*

[3] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1901), p. 111.

[4] [Above, i. Ch. XI.]

several Australian tribes each sex has a totem; in the Port Lincoln tribe a small kind of lizard, the male of which is called *Ibirri*, and the female *Waka*, is said to have divided the sexes in the human species, "an event that would appear not to be much approved of by the natives, since either sex has a mortal hatred against the opposite sex of these little animals, the men always destroying the *Waka* and the women the *Ibirri*."[1] In the Wotjobaluk tribe it is believed that "the life of *Ngunungunut* (the bat) is the life of a man, and the life of *Yartatgurk* (the night-jar) is the life of a woman." When either is killed, a man or a woman dies. Should one of these animals be killed, every man or every woman fears that he or she may be the victim, and this gives rise to numerous fights. "In these fights, men on one side and women on the other, it was not at all certain who would be victorious; for at times the women gave the men a severe drubbing with their yam-sticks, while often the women were injured or killed by spears."[2] In some Victorian tribes the bat is the men's animal, and they "protect it against injury, even to the half-killing of their wives for its sake." The goatsucker belongs to the women, who protect it jealously. "If a man kills one, they are as much enraged as if it was one of their children, and will strike him with their long poles." The *mantis* also belongs to the men, and no woman dares kill it.[3] In the Ta-ta-thi tribes of New South Wales the men have the bat for their sex-totem, and the women the small owl. They address each other as Owls and

[1] C. W. Schürmann, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia," in *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879), p. 241.

[2] A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 58.

[3] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (1881), p. 53.

Bats.[1] In the Mukjarawaint tribe of Western Victoria the bat is the men's totem and night-jar the women's.[2] The Kulin tribe of Victoria has two pairs of sex-totems, the bat (male) and night-jar (female), and the emu-wren (male) and superb-warbler (female).[3] Amongst the Coast Murring people the men's totem is "man's brother," the women's "woman's sister," phrases which recur in North-West Victoria.[4] The best example is from the Kurnai. All men are descendants of *Yeerung* (emu-wren), and all women of *Djeetgun* (superb-warbler). Emu-wrens are the men's brothers, and superb-warblers the women's sisters. Sometimes if young men were slow to marry, the women went out in the forest and killed some emu-wrens, and casually showed them to the men. An uproar followed. The men were very angry; the *yeerungs* their brothers had been killed; men and girls got sticks and attacked each other. Next day the young men went and killed some of the women's sisters, the birds *djeetgun*, superb-warblers, and the result was a worse fight than before. By and by an eligible young man would meet a marriageable girl, and would say, "Djeetgun." She replied, "Yeerung! What does the Yeerung eat?" This would lead to a marriage.[5] Sons of course follow the father's totem, *Yeerung*, and daughters the mother's *Djeetgun*.[6]

Sex also supersedes kinship in other ways. A Maori

[1] A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," *J.A.I.* (1885), xiv. 350.

[2] A. W. Howitt *and* L. Fison, "From Mother-right to Father-right," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 45.

[3] A. W. Howitt, "The Migrations of the Kurnai Ancestors," *J.A.I.* (1886), xv. 416.

[4] *Ibid.*, xv. 416.

[5] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 201.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

boy inherits the father's, a girl the mother's property.[1] So for teknonymy amongst the Mayas.[2] In Victoria a boy's "nearest relative" is his father, a girl's her mother.[3] In the Ikula tribe, which has four totem-clans, the sons of a *Budera* man and a *Kura* woman are *Budera*, and the daughters are *Kura*.[4]

One of the earliest ties of relationship is that of sharing food together, a natural variation, though not widely spread, being that those to whom the same food is taboo are akin. Such cases form good examples of the action of the principle of contact, and are often connected with the practice according to which young men initiated together, or otherwise associated, habitually take their meals in common. Thus amongst the New Hebrideans there are sets of initiated boys, arranged according to age, and each set mess together and sleep together, and may not eat with other persons.[5] The connection between food and kinship is very clear in early thought, and it is natural that it should be so; the inference being that food produces flesh, and identity of food produces identity of flesh. Amongst the Kamilaroi all things in heaven and earth are assigned to the clan-divisions of the tribe, and to such a question as, "What division does a bullock belong to?" the answer is, "It eats grass, therefore it is *Boortwerio*."[6] So the answer to what is practically a proposal of marriage on the part of a young Kurnai was, we saw,[7] "*Yeerung!*

[1] E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 99.

[2] See above, ii. 191.

[3] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (1881), p. 38.

[4] A. W. Howitt "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 509.

[5] B. T. Somerville, "Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides," *J.A.I.* (1894), xxiii. 6-7.

[6] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 169.

[7] [Above, ii. 225.]

What does the *yeerung* eat?" Amongst the Dieri *Murdoo*, which means "taste," is the term for "family," and the first question asked of a stranger is, "What Murdoo?"[1] Again in the tribes of the Belyando River the "classes" or divisions for purposes of marriage are allowed to eat certain foods only.[2] Amongst the Damaras the word for "marriage division" is *Oruzo*, which refers to food, and these divisions are described as "dietaries."[3] Another account states that the clans of the Damaras are distinguished by food-taboos. One, for instance, may not eat sheep without bones, another, oxen with certain spots. They will not even touch vessels in which such have been cooked, or go near the smoke of the fire used to cook it.[4] The Arabic[5] and Hebrew[6] words for "flesh" have also the connotation of "kindred" or "clan." The Gaelic names for family, *teadhloch* and *cuedich*, mean, first, having a common residence, and, secondly, those who eat together.[7]

The connection in totemic tribes between identity of food and relationship by totem, those who have the same totem being regarded as akin, is shown in the Narrinyeri tribe. The totems here are called *ngaitye*, which means "friend." All members of a totem-clan are regarded as relations. This, as is well known, is the case with all totem-clans. In some Australian tribes, however, it is to be noted, totemism has nothing to do with marriage. "The *ngaitye* of the Narrinyeri may be killed and eaten

[1] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), ii. 49.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 27.

[3] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," *Folk-Lore Journal* (Cape Town, 1879), i. 40.

[4] C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami* (1856), pp. 222 *et seq.*

[5] W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885), p. 148.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[7] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (1886-1896), i. 123.

by those who possess it, but they are always careful to destroy the remains, such as bones, feathers, etc., lest an enemy should obtain them and use them for purposes of sorcery. They never marry one who belongs to the same *ngaitye*."[1] When boys are initiated together they become "tribal brothers," and the marriage-bar is thus extended outside the family. In the Torres Straits "initiation mates" may not marry each other's sisters.[2]

Lastly, in connection with food-kinship there is the widely spread custom of forming a tie of "brotherhood" by eating and drinking together. This is a common form of the relation of *ngia ngiampe* and we need not quote again the examples we have already reviewed.[3] Later than this there arises the same practice with blood as the *kalduke*, and here relations and relationship meet. We may add that amongst the Arabs and elsewhere milk-kinship is equivalent to real kinship.[4] This is due originally not to analogy from motherhood, but to primitive ideas about food. Milk is regarded as equivalent to flesh by the Arabs, and milk-kinship forms one of Muhammad's forbidden degrees.

Again, when friends in the Aru Islands[5] and Ceramlaut[6] call each other "brother" or "sister," and when lovers in the Babar Islands call each other "brother" and "sister,"[7] we see another form of primitive relationship, based on

[1] G. Taplin, "From the Banks of the Murray River, where it enters Lake Alexandrina, to the Embouchure of that River and Lacepede Bay," in E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (1886-1887), ii. 245.

[2] A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribes of Torres Straits," *J.A.I.* (1890), xix. 411.

[3] [Above, i. 289 *et seq.*]

[4] W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885), p. 149.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 260.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 153. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

contact and combined with identity of age. It is no analogy, except in terminology, from the real relationship, nor yet does it point to primitive incest or promiscuity. When lovers and married persons call each "brother and sister"[1] we see that love and marriage are another form of primitive relationship, that is, of *ngiampe*. And here is to be found one reason for the common misconception that marriage ceremonies were intended to make the pair of one kin. In primitive thought relationship is not our relationship. It is rather relation. Relation and relationship are not yet differentiated, that is all. The Cherokees "reckon a friend in the same rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage and any other affair in social life."[2] Amongst the Seminoles two young men would agree to be life-friends, "more than brothers."[3] This is a very common thing in early races.

Again, any form of the *ngia ngiampe* relation is, as we have seen,[4] equivalent to relationship. The disciples of a Buryat *shaman* are his "sons."[5] Adoption, so common in early peoples, is frequently a bar to marriage, as amongst the Eskimo,[6] Greenlanders,[7] and Andamanese.[8] In European folk-religion there is the rule, sanctioned by the Catholic Church, that godparents become kin to the family, and marriage may not take place between the

[1] *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871), ii. 224, 229.

[2] J. Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (1775), p. 190.

[3] C. MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1887 for 1883-1884), v. 508.

[4] [Above, i. Ch. XI.]

[5] V. M. Mikhailovskii, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 135.

[6] J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1892 for 1887-1888), ix. 419.

[7] D. Cranz, *The History of Greenland* (1820), i. 146.

[8] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 126.

godparents themselves, between them and members of the family or the godchildren.[1] Godparents are proxies for the parents, and as such ought to marry, or at least to be married already ; the fact that they may not marry proves the primitive ideas both of sexual relation and of relationship, and shows the impossibility of analogy from kinship.

Lastly, there is the well-known form of kinship by name. It is parallel to kinship by totem, and is too familiar to need illustration. Dr Westermarck has shown that this is the important point in both maternal and paternal descent.[2] In other words, those who have the same name are *ngia ngiampe* and may not marry.

Primitive relationship, it is clear, is at once stronger and weaker than the civilised tie ; weaker, because the bond of blood has not assumed a superiority over other relations, close contact being the test ; stronger, because the ideas of contact which characterise these relations have so intense a religious meaning and because they enforce duty so stringently.

The famous matriarchal theory was as exaggerated in its early forms as was the patriarchal. It is now coming to be recognised that it is simply the tracing of descent through the mother and giving the children her name, though there a few cases where inheritance of property has later come under the rule, some of these being due to sex. It is a method of tracing genealogy, more convenient in polygamous societies, and more natural in primitive times, when the close connection of mother and child during the early days of infancy emphasise the relation.[3] The system was explained by Bachofen as due

[1] [See above, ii. 200-201.]

[2] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1901), p. 111.

[3] [Cp. E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Society* (1921), p. 159.]

to the supremacy of women, and by McLennan as due to doubtful paternity and primitive promiscuity. It is not, however, doubtful paternity which causes maternal genealogy; Dr Westermarck has shown this,[1] and also that the hypothesis of primitive promiscuity is without any foundation whatever.[2] The last position of the theory of promiscuity will be taken when we discuss group-marriage so-called. He has also proved that, though common, maternal descent cannot have been either universally or generally a stage through which man has passed. Amongst the lowest tribes in the scale, those of Australia, paternal descent is nearly as common as maternal. It is interesting to notice that the reckoning of descent exclusively through either the maternal or the paternal line, is an example of the influence which sex must necessarily have upon relationships. In those cases where the sons follow the father's clan, and the daughter the mother's, there was a similar phenomenon; here, there is an attempt to make relationship, for both sexes follow one sex to the exclusion of the other. In maternal descent, no less than in paternal, however, the relation to the unrepresented side of the house is of course easy to trace. In the islands of Leti, Moa and Lakor, there is seemingly an attempt to adjust the balance in unisexual relationship, by making the sons follow the mother and the daughters the father,[3] but this is doubtless due to consideration of caste.

Why did not early peoples trace descent in the apparently obvious way, from both father and mother? For the same reason that we, for instance, use the

[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), i. 274 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 103-336.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), pp. 384, 392.

paternal name to trace descent. In the ages before writing, the use of both parents' names and their application to children would be too complicated, as it still is found. This consideration has much to do with classificatory relationship. But here too sexual taboo has had its influence, and by dividing the family into two parts indefinitely postponed the trial of solutions. A Zulu custom shows the connection of sexual taboo with the paternal system, and has more than a merely casual interest as a savage Salic law. The first-born and second-born sons of the king cannot inherit, because, say the Zulus in a vague way, "they are the sons of the womb."[1] A similar idea shows itself in the objection held by some peoples to the children of two sisters marrying, while they do not object to marriage between the children of two brothers; for instance, in Leti, Moa and Lakor,[2] and in Madagascar. With the latter people such marriage is regarded as incest.[3] Such marriage is of course prevented by the usual exogamous system, whether maternal or paternal, and so is marriage between brothers' children, but the ideas of sex have asserted themselves. It is as if female influence rendered "nearness" of kin too near, while crossing of sex adjusts the balance.

Tylor connected the maternal system with the practice whereby the husband takes up his residence with his wife's people. He regards this as the earliest form of setting up an establishment, followed by a transitional method, by which the couple begin married life in the wife's house, but eventually remove.[4] In the first place,

[1] T. Arbousset *and* F. Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (1846), p. 149.

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

[3] J. Sibree, *Madagascar and its People* [1870], p. 248.

[4] Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 247 *et seq.*

Messrs Spencer and Gillen assert that as far as they know, it is not the custom in any Australian tribe, maternal or otherwise, for the husband to reside with his wife's people.[1] In the Kunandaburi tribe Messrs Howitt and Fison remark that, though the maternal system is used, the wife goes to her husband's people.[2] In Guinea the maternal system is followed, but the wife goes at once to the husband's home;[3] so in New Britain,[4] Madagascar,[5] and amongst the Arawaks.[6] Again, as to the "transitional" method, it seems at least improbable that the inconvenience of setting up one's residence amongst the wife's people and then setting up another, should have been undergone in order to satisfy the maternal system. The inconvenience is certainly put up with, but in most cases it will be found that it is put up with in order to satisfy certain universal feelings of human nature, stronger and more important than is an arbitrary system of kinship. In the first place, it is natural that the marriage should take place, as it often does, both in primitive and in modern times, at the residence of the bride's parents. Womanly and maternal feelings are not to be denied to the primitive mothers of the race. In many cases early marriage is not a momentary act, but a long process, extending sometimes over several weeks, and during this period the bridegroom resides with his wife's people.

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 470.

[2] A. W. Howitt *and* L. Fison, "From Mother-right to Father-right," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 35.

[3] W. Bosman, *A New Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1705), pp. 392, 420.

[4] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 293-294.

[5] J. Sibree, "Curious Words and Customs connected with Chieftainship and Royalty among the Malagasy," *J.A.I.* (1892), xxi. 230.

[6] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (1868), p. 101.

We have seen how in Cambodia a girl's parents are so careful of her happiness that for some time they keep a very strict watch over the son-in-law;[1] also, this natural human feeling often concentrates upon the first delivery of the young bride, and mothers show especial anxiety concerning this. The genial Dobrizhoffer reported of his Abipones: "Mothers are careful of their daughters, and can hardly bear to part with them. Parents after satisfying themselves of the probity of the son-in-law allow the pair to live in a separate house."[2] The Malay bridegroom is "nominally expected to remain under the roof and eye of his mother-in-law for about two years," after which he may remove to a house of his own,[3] The Omaha wife remains for some time with her parents, the husband visiting her, before she goes to live with him;[4] so amongst the Sarae.[5] We have also seen in connection with the so-called marriage by capture how girls cling to their home, a feeling naturally enhanced when child-birth approaches—the young wife wishes to be with her mother.[6]

Amongst the Barea the wife returns to her mother's house for her first delivery and there stays three months.[7] Amongst the Adel Bedouin the wife remains in her father's house till she has borne three children.[8] Amongst the Luhtongs the wife lives at her mother's house, the husband sleeping there. After the birth of the first child she goes to his house.[9] Amongst the

[1] [Above, i. 99.]

[2] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (1784), ii. 208.

[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), p. 384.

[4] E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains* (1823), ii. 47.

[5] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 387.

[6] [Above, ii. 98.]

[7] W. Munzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

[8] Sir W. C. Harris, *The Highlands of Æthiopia* (1844), i. 288.

[9] A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê* (1883), i. 373.

Bedouins of Sinai the wife stays with her parents till the child is born.[1] So amongst the Khyens[2] and Ainus,[3] Shawanese, Abipones and Chippeways.[4]

It should be noted here that marriage is often not regarded as complete until a child is born. A birth is indeed a very natural sign of the completion of the marriage tie, and this needs no explanation, though it explains this residing with the bride's parents till the birth, when we take into consideration the affection between mother and daughter, and the suspicions of the other sex fostered by sexual taboo. Taboos between the newly married show this, as between themselves; the Miao bride and groom occupy separate bedrooms until the first child is born, afterwards they use one bed.[5] The birth relieves anxiety both maternal and connubial. As a result of similar feelings the ceremony of marriage amongst the Hovas is first celebrated at the house of the bride's parents, then at the bridegroom's.[6] The same practice occurs in Nepal.[7]

As to the bride's affection for her old home, which coincides with sexual taboo, we find it commonly satisfied by returning thither. Amongst the Hindus, after a few weeks the bride returns to her paternal home for a visit.[8] Amongst the Bhilalahs the bride's parents take her from her husband back to their house, where she

[1] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys* (1830), p. 153.

[2] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (1882), p. 203.

[3] H. von Siebold, *Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso* (1881), p. 31.

[4] G. Klemm, *Allgemeine Culturgeschichte der Menschheit* (1843-1852), ii. 75.

[5] A. R. Colquhoun, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

[6] J. Sibree, "Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 41.

[7] H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal* (1880), i. 410.

[8] W. Kincaid, "The Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 404.

stays for a week.[1] The Turkoman bride returns to her parents after six weeks, to spend a year with them.[2] Amongst the Wa-teita the bride after three days' seclusion and fasting at her husband's house, which form part of the marriage ceremonial, is conveyed back to her parents' home by a procession of girls. After a while she returns.[3] We do not think that Tylor allowed for these cases.

In more religious form this feeling is satisfied amongst the Larkas by the wife running home after three days of married life. "The most modest course for the wife to follow is to run away from his house and tell her friends that she cannot love him; and the husband must show great anxiety for her, and convey her back by force."[4] Other instances of the same sort of thing we have reviewed[5] when treating of so-called marriage by capture. In more primitive form still, in South Australia the Powell's Creek bride is taken away to a considerable distance after being "purchased or captured" and kept isolated with her husband for some months, until she "settles down to the new order of things." The pair then rejoin the tribe.[6]

Temporary residence with the bride's parents, then, is no survival of continuous residence, but is due to various forms of sexual taboo and parental care. For continuous residence the Ainu practice is instructive; if the girl or her parents propose the match, the pair live in the bride's village, and *vice versa*.[7]

[1] W. Kincaid, "The Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range," *J.A.I.* (1880), ix. 404.

[2] J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan* (1825), ii. 375.

[3] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 51.

[4] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (1882), p. 67.

[5] [Above, ii. 80-93.]

[6] "The Habits, etc., of the Aborigines in District of Powell's Creek, Northern Territory of South Australia," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 177.

J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore* (1901), p. 140.

Nor is the change of residence a transitional method. It takes place, first, after the satisfaction of the feelings we have discussed. The Siamese bridegroom builds a room off the house of his wife's parents and there they live for some months, after which he builds a house of his own.[1] In Nukuhiva the bridegroom lives with his bride's parents; if, after a time "the pair are still attached to each other," they get up a separate establishment.[2] An Egyptian does not always become a householder at marriage, but may live with his wife in her parents' house.[3] Amongst the Soomoos the groom lives with the bride's people until the girl is old enough to be married.[4] And in New Britain the girl, if very young, stays with her parents; if full-grown she goes to her husband's house. In New Britain, by the way, descent is through the mother.[5] In Samoa, "a woman does not become a man's wife until he takes her to his own house."[6]

Secondly, the change of residence is due to a very obvious circumstance. In Leti, Moa and Lakor, the husband lives with his wife's parents till he has built a house.[7] In Wetar, the husband lives with his wife's people till he gets a house of his own.[8] Economic causes indeed have always had a good deal to do with

[1] S. de La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam* (1691), i. 157.

[2] U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World* (1814), p. 83.

[3] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), ii. 269.

[4] H. A. Wickham, "Notes on the Soumoo or Woolwa Indians," *J.A.I.* (1895), xxiv. 205.

[5] B. Danks, "Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 289.

[6] W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences* (1866), p. 134.

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 390.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

marriage. Amongst the Barea a man is "in the power" of his wife's father until he builds a house of his own.[1] Amongst the Cadiacks the bridegroom "pays" for his wife by working for her parents, living with them until the full amount is worked off.[2] The same practice is found in Timorlaut,[3] the Kei Islands,[4] Amboina,[5] the Watubella Islands,[6] [and among many other peoples.[7] A typical case is that of the Kuki-Lushais of Assam, which has been thus described: "A man having taken a fancy to a girl offers a present of liquor to the parents and talks the matter over. Should they be willing to accept him as a son-in-law, he takes up his abode with them for three years, working in the *jhúms*, and practically becoming a bond servant. At the end of this period he is allowed to marry the girl, but even then is not free, as he has to remain on another two seasons, working in the same manner as he did before. At the completion of the five years he is free to build a separate house and start life on his own account. Two rupees is the sum ordinarily paid the parents of the girl, a sum paid evidently more for the purpose of proving a contract than for anything else, the long period of servitude being the real price paid."][8] Amongst the Arawaks the bride's father expects his son-in-law to do some work for him; the young couple often live with him "until an increasing family renders a separate establishment necessary." These Indians, it is to be noted, are a "maternal" people.[9]

[1] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (1864), p. 447.

[2] U. Lisiansky *op. cit.*, p. 198. [3] J. G. F. Riedel, *op.cit.*, p. 301.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 236. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 68. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[7] See E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), ii. 360 *et seq.*

[8] C. A. Soppitt, *A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier* (1887), pp. 14-15.

[9] W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (1868), p. 101.

Though in origin the "bride-price" is not purchase-money, yet, as commercialism develops, we find cases like that of the Watubella islanders, with whom the children "belong" to the wife's family until the bride-price is fully paid.[1] Many peoples in the East Indies, such as the Battas[2] and the Malays,[3] have three forms of marriage: (1) the groom pays "purchase-money;" (2) if he is poor, he works for her parents, living in their house; (3) elopement. In Amboina[4] and Ceram,[5] if the bridegroom cannot pay the "price," he lives with the bride in her parents' house, and works for them. If he can pay it, she goes to his house. Lastly, amongst the extinct Tasmanians, supposed to have been the lowest race in the scale known, the husband took the bride to his own *wirlie*, and the system of descent was maternal.[6] The usual Australian custom is for the man to take his wife to his own tribe;[7] and the exception which sometimes occurs amongst the Arunta is natural enough; they are a "paternal" people, but men of other tribes sometimes join them, taking a wife from them and setting up their abode.[8]

We may now proceed to notice the well-known machinery by which exogamy is worked in so many early societies, the "classificatory system." Its origin is

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (1886), p. 205.

[2] F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra* (1847), ii. 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[6] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians* (1870), p. 72.

[7] Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 250.

[8] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 60.

perfectly clear. It is in its simplest form of two exogamous intermarrying divisions, consistent with either the paternal or the maternal system of descent. It is unnecessary to describe it fully, or to show what has been well shown by Messrs Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, that the terms are terms of kinship and not terms of address. As we have seen,[1] however, they are in origin terms of relation, and accordingly, so far, terms of address also. For instance, the term *Ipmunna* in Central Australia, which is that used between members of the two subclasses which make up one of the two exogamous divisions, would be better described as a term of relation.[2] Relation and relationship are not differentiated in primitive thought. Again, all of the terms can be used as terms of address, just as our terms of relationship can be so used, "aunt" and "uncle" for instance, that is, instead of the personal name. In connection with the account of relations already given,[3] an instance typical of these customs is the general practice of addressing elder females as "mother," young ones as "sister."

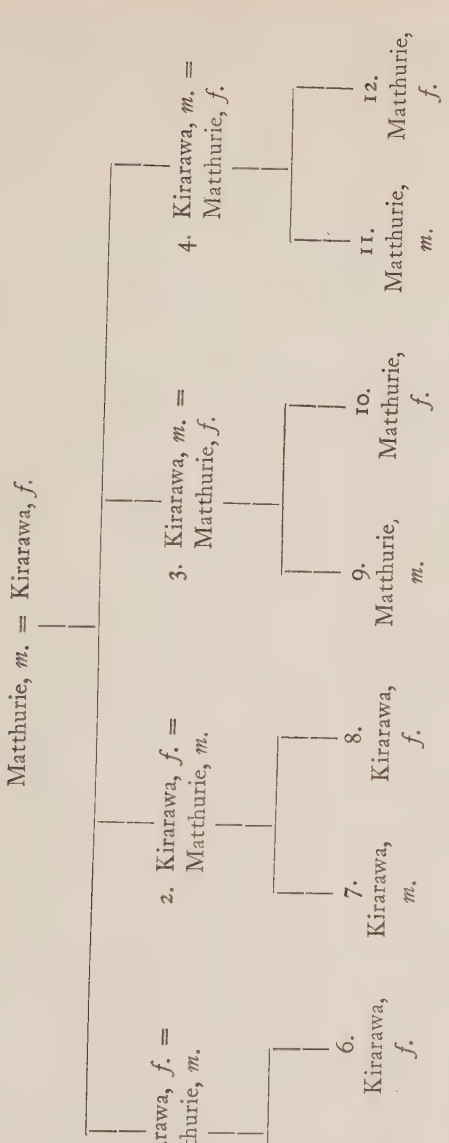
The commonest form of classificatory exogamy is that where the members of the tribe are divided into classes for purposes of marriage, members of one class being forbidden to marry in that class, but bound to marry into the other. Taking the Urabunna tribe as an example, the scheme is as follows, *Matthurie* and *Kirarawa* being the two exogamous classes, and descent being through the mother :[4]

[1] [Above, ii. 220 *et seq.*]

[2] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[3] [Above, ii. 203 *et seq.*]

[4] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 60.


Matthurie, *m.* = Kirarawa, *f.*
1. Kirarawa, *f.* = Matthurie, *m.*
2. Kirarawa, *f.* = Matthurie, *m.*
3. Kirarawa, *m.* = Matthurie, *f.*
4. Kirarawa, *m.* = Matthurie, *f.*
5. Kirarawa, *m.*
6. Kirarawa, *f.*
7. Kirarawa, *m.*
8. Kirarawa, *f.*
9. Matthurie, *m.*
10. Matthurie, *f.*
11. Matthurie, *m.*
12. Matthurie, *f.*

The main point here is, of course, that brothers and sisters may not marry; the system pre-supposes this when putting them under the same name. The next point is that first cousins, when children of two sisters, as 5 and 8, 6 and 7, or of two brothers, as 9 and 12, 10 and 11, may not marry, this being an accident of the system. Thirdly, first cousins, when children of a brother and sister, as 7 and 10, 8 and 9, may marry, they being of different classes, and in most systems they are indeed expected to marry, as in Australia and Fiji.[1] This species of cousin-marriage Tylor has well called "cross-cousin-marriage."[2] When this is the case, the system is endogamous as well. Primitive exogamy is in fact also endogamous; and when it is understood that the essential object of exogamy is to prevent marriage between brothers and sisters, there is no need to tabulate exogamous peoples, for exogamy is practised by every race of mankind, as it is by ourselves, or to search for its origin. As to Tylor's suggestion that exogamy was due to a desire to secure the survival of the tribe by forming alliances outside, the choice being between marrying-out or dying-out,[3] this is another kind of exogamy, and one indeed that is sporadic only, though a natural enough practice, as it is between European royal families. Early exogamy proper is a family and not a tribal matter, and is also somewhat too endogamous to include a political exogamy in its origin, and savages do not possess such political insight as would warrant the inference that such was a general cause of exogamy.

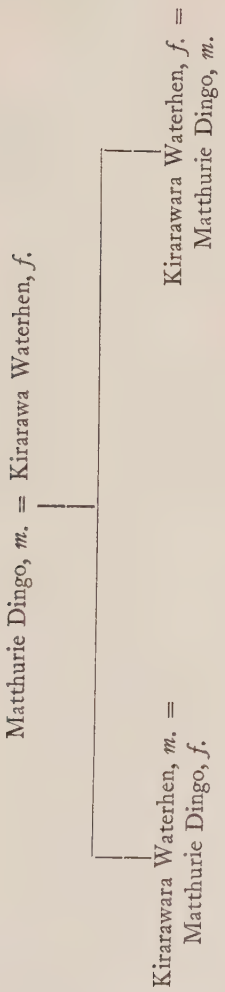
Further, each of these marriage classes is sub-divided

[1] [Cp. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918), ii. 98.]

[2] [Sir E. B. Tylor, "A Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *J.A.I.* (1889), xviii. 267.]

[3] *Ibid.*, xviii. 267.

into several totem-classes, and there is an arrangement as to which totems may intermarry, descent being still through the mother.[1] Thus :


Matthurie Dingo, *m.* = Kirarawa Waterhen, *f.*
Kirarawara Waterhen, *f.* = Matthurie Dingo, *m.*
Kirarawara Waterhen, *m.* = Matthurie Dingo, *f.*

The next form of the classificatory system is one which is common in Australia. Here each of the two

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

exogamous classes is divided into two subclasses. Thus, in the Kamilaroi tribe the two exogamous classes are *Dilbi* and *Kupathin; Dilbi* is divided into *Muri* and *Kubi*, *Kupathin* being divided into *Ipai* and *Kumbo*. *Muri* must marry *Kumbo*, and *Kubi* must marry *Ipai*, no other intermarriage being allowed. There is the further arrangement that the children belong to the companion subclass of the mother, descent being maternal.[1] Sir James Frazer calls this "indirect female descent."[2] Thus:

	Male.	*Marries.*	*Children.*
Dilbi	Muri	Kumbo	Ipai
	Kubi	Ipai	Kumbo
Kupathin	Ipai	Kubi	Muri
	Kumbo	Muri	Kubi

The same system is found in the southern division of the Arunta, though in process of further subdivision as in the northern tribe,[3] and in the Kiabara tribe;[4] both these tribes having paternal descent. When this system is tabulated, it will be found that one difference is produced by it. In the Kiabara tribe *Dilebi* is divided into *Baring* and *Turowine*, and *Cubatine* is divided into *Bundah* and *Bulcoin;* the marriages and descent are as follows (see opposite page).

The difference is this: the system obviously keeps the marriages within the same generation, *Turowine* and *Bulcoin* alternating with *Bundah* and *Baring*. The children of a given father being put in a separate class, of course, amounts to this.[5]

[1] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 37.

[2] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), i. 68-69, 399; cp. *ibid.*, c. 444-445.

[3] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[4] A. W. Howitt, "Remarks on the Class Systems collected by Mr Palmer," *J.A.I.* (1884), xiii. 336.

[5] [These observations, namely, the interpretation of this division of the tribe as intended to render impossible marriage between brothers and sisters, and between

[*Continued on p.* 246.

Baring, m. = Bundah f.
Turowine, f. = Bulcoin, m.
Turowine, f. = Bulcoin, m.
Turowine, m. = Bulcoin, f.
Turowine, m. = Bulcoin, f.
Bundah, m. = Baring, f.
Bundah, f. = Baring, m.
Bundah, m. = Baring, f.
Bundah, f. = Baring, f.
Baring, m. = Bundah, f.
Baring, f. = Bundah, m.
Baring, m. = Bundah, f.
Baring, f. = Bundah, m.

This result can hardly be counted as accidental when we remember that the savage no less than other men prefers the natural marriage with one of the same generation. That this feeling should have been codified, as it were, is an instance of the way in which early man tries to assist nature. The vague fear of the possibility of sexual relation with the mother-in-law, for instance, which sometimes emerges above the complex feelings brought by sexual taboo into that relation, is a case in point. Another is the fact that in some codified marriage systems, as in our own *Table of Kindred and Affinity*, a man is forbidden to marry his grandmother and his granddaughter, and so on, each case being one never likely to occur.[1]

There is nothing in these systems except identity of name to prevent children of brothers or of sisters marrying,[2] though some peoples, as the Malagasy, allow children of brothers to marry, but not children of sisters, ideas of sexual taboo probably causing this result, and

those of different generations, were first and independently detailed by Mr Crawley. But they had previously been made by Mr Howitt, who communicated them to Sir James Frazer, by whom they were briefly noted in 1899; see *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), i. 124 *n.*[2], 162 *et seq.*, 163 *n.* It may be noted that Sir James writes (*loc. cit.*) of this division as preventing marriage between "parents and children." While this is true in part, it obscures the full fact, which is, as is stated in the text, that what is rendered impossible is marriage between any person of one generation and any person of another generation, in whatever relationship they may stand to one another.]

[1] [The complexity of the laws is well brought out in A. R. Bellingham, *A Table of Prohibited Degrees of Kindred and Affinity in Force in the United Kingdom* [1923]. Cp. A. C. H. Hall, Bishop of Vermont, *Marriage with Relatives: Prohibited Degrees of Kindred and Affinity* (1901); H. M. Luckock, Dean of Lichfield, *The History of Marriage, Jewish and Christian, in relation to Divorce and certain Forbidden Degrees* (1895); H. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit mit besondrer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz* (1914).]

[2] [The Chinese practice in this matter is instructive; see, *e.g.*, P. Hoang, *Le Mariage Chinois du point de vue légal* (1898), and especially M. Granet, *La polygynie sororale et le sororat dans la Chine féodale* (1920).]

though other peoples, especially those higher in the scale, often prohibit all cousin-marriage. The old Canon Law of the Church, for instance, did so.[1] In these cases descent is reckoned from father and mother together, cross-cousin marriage being thus prevented as well as the other form.

The third development of the classificatory system is that found in the Northern Arunta tribe, and described by Messrs Spencer and Gillen.[2] It is a further subdivision of the last form mentioned, and the difference in result produced by it is clearly that it also prevents cross-cousin marriage.[3] In the Southern Arunta tribe the four subclasses are *Panunga* and *Bulthara*, *Purula* and *Kumara*. In the Northern Arunta *Panunga* is divided into *Panunga* and *Uknaria*; *Purula* is divided into *Purula* and *Ungalla*; *Bulthara* is divided into *Bulthara* and *Appungerta*; and *Kumara* is divided into *Kumara* and *Umbitchana*. The system is given thus by Messrs Spencer and Gillen :

1.	2.	3.	4.
Panunga	Purula	Appungerta	Kumara
Uknaria	Ungalla	Bulthara	Umbitchana
Bulthara	Kumara	Uknaria	Purula
Appungerta	Umbitchana	Panunga	Ungalla

Reading across the page, a man Panunga marries a woman Purula, and the children are Appungerta ; when a man Purula marries a woman Panunga, the children are Kumara, and so on. By tabulating the system, we see how cross-cousin marriage is prevented :

[1] C. Du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis* (1883-1887), *s.v.* "generatio."

[2] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 71 *et seq.*

[3] [This observation has been confirmed by Messrs Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), p. 117, and has been endorsed by Sir J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910), i. 277.]

Panunga, m. = Purula, f.
Appungerta, f. = Umbitchana, m.
Appungerta, m. = Umbitchana, f.
Appungerta, f. = Umbitchana, m.
Appungerta, m. = Umbitchana, f.
Ungalla, m. = Uknaria, f.
Ungalla, f. = Uknaria, m.
Ungalla, m. = Uknaria, f.
Ungalla, f. = Uknaria, m.
Panunga, m. = Purula, f.
Panunga, f. = Purula, m.
Panunga, m. = Purula, f.
Panunga, f. = Purula, m.

A further point of interest in the Central Australian system is this : in the Urabunna tribe *nupa* women, that is, women who are marriageable on the system to a particular man, are daughters of his mother's elder brothers, and none others ; a man's wife must belong to the senior side of the tribe.[1] This rule is evidently a codification of the practice found so generally amongst savages, that elder sisters have a prior right to marriage over younger, and is an instance of wise consideration on the part of primitive man. It is a sort of attempt to assist nature, and is parallel to the preference for marriage within the same generation. In Nias,[2] Halmahera,[3] Java,[4] and China,[5] for example, a younger sister is not allowed to marry before an older one. It is to be noted that in the Arunta tribe there are, as happens in other classificatory systems, distinct names for elder and younger brothers and sisters, and that when two brothers in blood marry two sisters in blood, the elder brother marries the elder sister ; and further, a man may speak freely to his elder sisters in blood, but to tribal elder sisters only at a distance. To younger sisters, blood and tribal, he may not speak.[6] In the Arunta tribe, that is, there is a taboo against women of the junior side, but no fixed rule forbidding marriage with them ; in the Urabunna tribe there is such a rule, and we hear of no taboo.

An interesting example of the way in which age

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 64-65.

[2] C. B. H. von Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel* (1878), p. 155.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, "Galela und Tobeloresen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1885), xvii. 76.

[4] C. F. Winter, "Instellingen, Gewoonten en Gebruiken den Javanen te Soerakanta," *Tijdschrift voor Nêerlands Indie* (1843), V. i. 566.

[5] J. H. Gray, *China* (1878), i. 190.

[6] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

influences such relations occurs amongst the Khyoungtha and other Indian hill-tribes, and the Andamanese. With the former, a younger brother may touch and speak to his elder brother's wife, "but it is thought improper for an elder brother even to look at the wife of his younger brother. This is a custom more or less common among all hill-tribes ; it is found carried to a preposterous extent among the Santals."[1] An Andamanese may not speak directly but only through a third person to a married woman who is younger than himself. Women are restricted in the same way in relation to their husband's elder brother. Till an Andamanese reaches middle age, he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a younger brother or cousin, and the feeling is reciprocated. His elder brother's wife receives from him the respect due to a mother.[2] In the first case, superiority of age in the male induces the idea of a potentiality of sexual control of a younger female, and with an older woman there is the analogy of the mother, suggested by her greater age. In the second case, the custom is combined with taboos of the mother-in-law species.

We may now consider the last position of the theory that promiscuity was once prevalent amongst early peoples ; this is the so-called group-marriage of several Australian tribes. Morgan, McLennan and Lubbock [Lord Avebury] were supported in their hypothesis of primitive promiscuity or community of wives by Messrs Fison and Howitt, who first adduced the phenomena of group-marriage. Dr Westermarck has so ably shown the unscientific character of the promiscuity theory that it would

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (1870), p. 130.

[2] E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *J.A.I.* (1883), xii. 136, 355.

be unnecessary to add to what he has said, were it not for the fact that Messrs Spencer and Gillen in their important work have, we think, too easily given their assent to Fison and Howitt's interpretation of group-marriage as proving early promiscuity.[1] Indeed, they assert that there is no such thing as individual marriage in the Urabunna tribe. It will be clear after we have examined these facts that Messrs Spencer and Gillen have misunderstood their origin and meaning, and that their criticism of Dr Westermarck's condemnation of the promiscuity theory is therefore mistaken. In one detail, that of the so-called *jus primae noctis*, Dr Westermarck is wrong, but so are Messrs Spencer and Gillen.

They say that the facts of the Urabunna system "can only be explained on the theory of the former existence of group-marriage which has necessarily given rise to the terms of relationship."[2] Now, on the Urabunna system of two exogamous intermarrying classes, the term *mia*, for instance, includes not only the meaning of our "mother" but that of "tribal mother," being applied to all women of the same generation in the class to which a man's real mother belongs.[3] But this is an obvious result of the classificatory system, and, apart from the system, it is the regular result of the primitive theory of relationship; the system codifies a combination of relation and relationship, "address" and age. It is the system and not group-marriage which has given rise to these terms of relationship;[4] these do not in themselves necessarily point to a previous promiscuity or even to a present

[1] [Dr Westermarck has now brought his survey up to date; see *The History of Human Marriage* (1921), iii. 223 *et seq.*]

[2] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 59.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[4] [Cp. A. Lang, *Social Origins* (1903), pp. 95-97.]

group-marriage. This "marriageableness" is found also in Fiji, but we do not either there or in Australia find any "right" exercised upon it.[1] We have seen[2] that relation and relationship were not differentiated, and here the classificatory system has stereotyped this confusion. And so when the women of the same generation and class to which a man's real mother belongs are called "mother," and the sisters of his wife in like manner are called "wives," and the brothers of his father are called "father," it no more follows that a man once practised promiscuous marriage with all such "wives," or that he now possesses the right to do so, than that a man once was begotten by all the men who were thus his "fathers," or was born of all the women who were thus his "mothers." Amongst the Kurnai the wife's sister, though called "wife," would not sleep in the man's hut, and a *brogan* though calling a man's wife "wife" and though she called him "husband," would have to camp with the young men.[3] So much for the ordinary type of group-marriage. But further, in the Urabunna tribe, each man has living with him (Messrs Spencer and Gillen do not term them wives) certain *nupa* women, that is, women who on the system are tribal-sisters of his wife, and therefore potentially marriageable to him. But this is nothing more than actual polygamy. The inference that all such *nupa* women are or once were married to all the men, as group to group, or to one man, is unwarranted; they are simply marriageable because of the system. It is possible that a legal-minded savage might

[1] [Lord Avebury, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion* (1911), p. 20, criticises this passage, being "astonished" at it. But his observations appear to be irrelevant to the point at issue.]

[2] [Above, ii. 203 *et seq.*]

[3] L. Fison *and* A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), p. 210.

draw the inference, but this would not prove such marriage to have been ever actual; there are limits to the polygamous impulse, and the elaborate character of the system is not consistent with a previous confused promiscuity. Promiscuity would not leave, as its results, a system so exact that intermarriage with the wrong class is considered a crime.

Again, there are other women in the relation of *Piraungaru* to every man, like the *Pirauru* of the Dieri tribe, "to whom he has access under certain conditions."[1] The result is, Messrs Spencer and Gillen state, "that every woman is the special *nupa* of one man, but he has no exclusive right to her, as she is the *Piraungaru* of certain other men who also have the right of access to her [that is, as *Piraungaru*]. There is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman. Individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice in the Urabunna tribe."[2]

In this connection they speak of a "rudimentary custom;"[3] that is to say, they seem to regard the present system of "rights" as a survival of a fully-developed promiscuity. As to this, we would submit that the Urabunna group-marriage has never been more fully developed than it is now, that it is no modified survival, and that it is far from being a "rudimentary" custom. The essence of a rudimentary custom should surely be that of a rudimentary organ, that is to say, a rudimentary custom is one that exists but has no present meaning or use. Now the Urabunna custom seems to have a good deal of meaning still, and to be used in rather a regular way. The term "rudimentary" in this connection both

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), p. 62.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 105 *et seq.*

begs the question and stultifies their theory. Again, since Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and Darwin's *Origin of Species* were given to the world, there has been too indiscriminate and careless a use of the terms "survival" and "rudimentary;" customs and beliefs of the greatest vitality have been described and condemned as "survivals" or as "rudimentary customs;" the form in such cases being of course a survival, but within the form there is a living content, not separable from it, though often changed from its earliest connotation.

As to the *Piraungaru* women of the Urabunna to whom a man has "the right of access;" they have been called "accessory wives," but the term is as misleading as it would be if applied to the wives whom husbands amongst many peoples occasionally "lend" to their guests by way of hospitality. Let us take a similar case of the Arunta, of which the Urabunna is evidently a development. "Under ordinary circumstances in the Arunta and other tribes," individual marriage exists, but at certain times a man may have access to other women, sometimes even a woman of a forbidden class.[1] What are these occasions? First, the well-known savage custom just referred to, by which a man lends his wife to a friend or guest as an act of friendship, gratitude or hospitality.[2] This is not lightly undertaken, but is an act involving a really religious obligation, as we have seen,[3] and where it is reciprocal it is the highest form of the *ngia ngiampe* relation. In these cases the wife lent has to be of the class marriageable to the man who receives her from his friend.

Secondly, a general exchange of wives takes place

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 98. [3] [Above, i. 296-297, 362-363.]

at certain important festivals.[1] This custom has been already explained.[2] It has nothing whatever to do with the marriage system, except as breaking it for a season, women of forbidden degrees being lent, on the same grounds as conventions and ordinary relations are broken at festivals of the Saturnalia type, the object being to change life and to start afresh by exchanging everything one can, while the very act of exchange coincides with the other desire, to weld the community together.

Thirdly, right of access holds at the ceremony whereby young women are made marriageable, that is, is physically prepared for her husband, and which is identical with a marriage ceremony.[3] In the Arunta tribe and others where group-marriage, our authorities say, exists in a "modified form," this right of access does hold, but it simply amounts to a religious duty, whereby the bride is physically prepared for her husband. Various persons in various tribes perform this preliminary act, which is neither *jus primae noctis* nor "religious prostitution" of the Babylonian type. Here their criticism of Dr Westermarck is sound, but their own inference that it is a "rudimentary right of marriage" surviving from primitive promiscuity, is more beside the mark still. The act is intended to remove the danger attaching to union (and that the dangerous one of sexual intercourse) for the first time (a dangerous time), with a woman (a dangerous person), the whole business, in idea and practice, being of the primitive religious stamp, and of the same character as "priestly defloration," and it is quite opposed in theory to the so-called *jus primae noctis*, which, if it ever obtained in Europe (it probably never

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[2] [Above, i. 362-363.]

[3] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-97.

obtained elsewhere) was simply a barbarous application of feudal rights, and also to religious prostitution. Finally, it is not an "expiation for marriage" as Lubbock thought.

On examining Mr Howitt's careful description of the Dieri marriage system and the *Pirauru* practice, to which the Urabunna *Piraungaru* practice is compared, we find that in the tribe "licence prevails between the intermarrying classes at certain ceremonial times," namely, at initiation ceremonies, and when a marriage takes place between members of different tribes. As to the *Piraurus*, called "paramours" by the white settlers, if a man's own wife is absent he may have marital relations with his *Pirauru*, "but he cannot take her away [from her real husband] unless by his consent, excepting at the above-mentioned ceremonial times." No other occasion of access is mentioned. He adds that the system is not complete promiscuity, for the *Pirauru* "are allotted at some great initiation ceremony."[1] The first part of the above has the same explanation as the Arunta customs; and the *Pirauru* custom is evidently a polyandrous extension, which is often found, of the custom of lending wives, namely, when a husband is absent a particular man may live with her, as in the *Cicisbeate* of South Europe.[2]

The following is Messrs Spencer and Gillen's account of the *Piraungaru* of the Urabunna. "To women who are the *Piraungaru* of a man (the term is a reciprocal one), the latter has access under certain conditions, so that they may be considered as accessory wives. There is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman; the elder brothers, or *Nuthie*, of the latter, in whose hands the matter lies, will give one man a pre-

[1] A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other kindred tribes of Central Australia," *J.A.I.* (1891), xx. 53 *et seq.*

[2] T. Moore, *Marriage Customs* (1814), p. 64.

ferential right, but at the same time they will give other men of the same group a secondary right to her. Individual marriage does not exist, either in name or in practice, in the Urabunna tribe. The initiation [*sic*] in regard to establishing the relationship of *Piraungaru* between a man and a woman must be taken by the elder brothers, but the arrangement must receive the sanction of the old men of the group before it can take effect. As a matter of actual practice, this relationship is usually established at times when considerable numbers of the tribe are gathered together to perform important ceremonies, and when these and other matters of importance which require the consideration of the old men are discussed and settled. A man may always lend his wife, that is, the woman to whom he has the first right, to another man, provided always he be her *Nupa*, without the relationship of *Piraungaru* existing between the two, but unless this relationship exists, no man has any right of access to a woman. Occasionally, but rarely, it happens that a man attempts to prevent his wife's *Piraungaru* from having access to her, but this leads to a fight and the husband is looked upon as churlish. When visiting distant groups where, in all likelihood, the husband has no *Piraungaru*, it is customary for other men of his own class to offer him the loan of one or more of their *Nupa* women, and a man, besides lending a woman over whom he has the first right, will also lend his *Piraungaru*."[1]

"The relation of *Piraungaru* is established between any woman and men to whom she is *Nupa*—that is, to whom she may be lawfully married, by her *Nuthie* or elder brothers. If a group be camped together, and as a matter of fact groups of individuals who are *Piraungaru* to one

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), pp. 62-63.

another do usually camp together, then in the case of a particular woman her special *Nupa* man has the first right to her, but if he be absent the *Piraungaru* have the right to her; or, if the *Nupa* man be present, the *Piraungaru* have the right to her, subject to his consent, which is practically never withheld."[1]

The very fact that the husband's consent must be obtained proves that he is the woman's husband, and that individual marriage exists, though slightly modified. The *Piraungaru*, like the *Piraurn* practice, is a development, in one aspect, of the practice of lending wives, coinciding with a polyandrous and polygamous tendency, and, in another, of the religious exchange of wives, as is made probable by its connection with tribal meetings. Polyandry, if not polygamy, is an abnormal practice, though found sporadically even in Southern Europe, where the *Cicisbeate* is a close parallel to one side of the Urabunna institution. Lastly, it may be noted that even if this polyandry and polygamy were real "group-marriage," it by no means proves the previous existence of wilder promiscuity for the Urabunna, much less for the rest of mankind, as a stage through which man has passed. Everything points, on the contrary, to the inference that the Dieri and Urabunna practices are abnormal developments, which have never been more complete than they are now.[2]

Other facts that have been used in the attempt to prove primitive promiscuity and incest have been fully dealt with by Dr Westermarck (*passim*). Endogamy and the marriage of cousins have also been so used. It seems unnecessary to refute this. The system of *morongs*,

[1] Sir W. B. Spencer *and* F. J. Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[2] [Cp. E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1912-1917), ii. 395.]

or bachelor-houses, in which the young men live and sleep, has also been used in favour of the promiscuity theory ;[1] but there is no ground whatever on which it may be so used ; even the intercourse sometimes allowed to boys is merely either youthful love-making, which is more or less common in all societies, or a custom sanctioned by religious ideas as to its necessity.

It may be confidently assumed that individual marriage has been, as far as we can trace it back, the regular type of union of man and woman. The promiscuity theory really belongs to the mythological stage of human intelligence, and is on a par with many savage myths concerning the origin of marriage, and the like. These are interesting but of no scientific value. They are cases of mental actualisation of apparently potential states which were really impossible except as abnormal occurrences. When men meditated upon marriage ceremonial and system, they would naturally infer a time when there was not only no rite, but no institution of marriage. Hence the common idea of which the promiscuity theory is a result, that marriage was ordained to prevent illicit intercourse ; this, of course, it does prevent, but it invents it first. Taboo and law when they sanction a human normal practice produce the possibility of sin. There was of course a time when there was no marriage ceremony, but the ideas of such were latent in the actual union of man and woman.

The survey of marriage and of sexual relations in early races suggests many thoughts. For instance, one is struck by the high morality of primitive man. Not long ago McLennan could assert confidently that the

[1] [S. E. Peal, "The *Morong*, as possibly a Relic of Pre-Marriage Communism," *J.A.I.* (1893), xxii. 244 *et seq.*]

savage woman was utterly depraved ; but a study of the facts shows quite the contrary. The religious character of early human relations, again, gives a sense of tragedy ; man seems to feel that he is treading in slippery places, that he is on the brink of precipices, when really his foot standeth right. This sensitive attitude would seem to have assisted the natural development of man. We have also seen the remarkable fact that most of these primitive customs and beliefs are repeated in the average civilised man, not as mere survivals, though their religious content has been narrowed, but springing from functional causes constant in the human organism. Further, it seems to be a probable inference that the functional impulses, not only of man but of at least all higher organisms, have latent in them a potential religious content. This has been noted as especially actualised in the social relations of the individual. The history of psychological processes is the history of the religious consciousness. Lastly, in connection with the main subject, marriage, this diffidence and desire for security and permanence in a world where only change is permanent, has led to certain conceptions of eternal personalities who control and symbolise the marriage tie. Psychologically the union of man and woman amounts to identification and combination of the two sexes ; and in the theological development of the idea, as the Philippine Islanders,[1] the Chinese[2] and the Yorubas,[3] to quote from what is a large list, have deities who combine the attributes of both sexes, so the Greeks and Romans sometimes included male characteristics in their conception of the

[1] Sir J. Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (1859), p. 158.

[2] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (1867), i. 261.

[3] Sir A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (1894), p. 41.

Goddess of Love,[1] and lifted marriage to the ideal plane in the conception of the ἱερὸς γάμος. More simply, many peoples have thought of a divine trinity of persons to symbolise the family of husband, wife and child; Christian Europe, for instance, has worshipped the Holy Family for many hundred years. For the male sex an ideal of the eternal feminine often satisfies such aspirations, and this survey may fittingly close with a reference to the most prominent ideal personality for modern Europe in this connection, the Maiden-Mother, the Mystical Rose, for her figure enshrines many elemental conceptions of man and woman and their relations.

[1] Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 151; Lydus, *De Mensibus*, ii. 10, iv. 44, 95; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, iii. 8; Servius *on* Virgil, *Æneid*, ii. 632.

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INDEX

Aaron's death the result of a kiss from God, i. 354
Abba, man's cloak, ii. 85
"Abide" a person, to, the significance of this expression, i. 123
Abipones, the, i. 36, 78, 104, ii. 44, 172, 234, 235
Abmoara, the operator on the subject of an initiation, i. 303
Abnormal, man's fear of the, i. 23
Abraham's death the result of a kiss from God, i. 354
Absalom's kiss, i. 347
Abuse at weddings, ii. 80
Abyssinia, the natives of, i. 64, 232, 280, 361, ii. 52, 53, 196
—, the king of, dines alone, i. 195
Acaxees, the, i. 332, ii. 147
Achilles, and Diomed, i. 293; the changing of the dress of, 318*n.*[3], 319-320
Achin, the natives of, ii. 63
"Addormentarsi nel bacio del Signore," "to fall asleep in the lord's kiss," i. 354
Adelaide tribes, the, ii. 10
Adel Bedouin, the, ii. 234
Admiralty Islanders, the, i. 47, 66
Adoption, ii. 229
Adoratio, i. 352
Advocati, the Roman, ii. 53
Aelian on the modesty of the Sacae women, ii. 81-82
Aeneze Arabs, the, i. 203, ii. 85
Aenianians, the, i. 368
Afghanistan, the natives of, i. 267
Africa, the natives of, i. 185, 203, 290, 301, 342, 374, ii. 9, 117, 164
—, Central, the natives of, i. 190, 202, ii. 21, 164, 166, 167
—, East, the natives of, i. 51, 53, 71, 375, ii. 164, 165, 166, 167
—, East Central, the natives of, i. 36, 74, 103, 111, 119, 127, 131-132, 185, 202, 203, 274, ii. 148, 186
—, North-East, the natives of, ii. 43
—, South, the natives of, i. 51, 65, 70, 72, 140, 253, 281, ii. 42, 45, 164, 165, 166
Africa, South-East, the natives of, i. 64, ii. 144, 183
—, South-West, the natives of, ii. 112
—, West, the natives of, i. 17, 202, 216, 230, 281, ii. 114, 116, 167
Age reckoned from circumcision, ii. 3
Agricultural ritual, dancing in, i. 367-368
Agrigentum, the statue of Heracles at, i. 353
Ague, how to give your neighbour, i. 141
Ahomama, the, ii. 179
Ahts, the, i. 60, 68, 183
Ainu, the, i. 24, ii. 179, 235, 236
Ai tabu, "sacred eating," i. 212
Aith Sádděn, the Berbers of the, ii. 95
— Yúsi, the Berbers of the, ii. 95
Akamba, the, ii. 164
Akh plant, the, ii. 57
Akiba, Rabbi, on the kiss of the Medes, i. 346
Albertis, L. M. d', on the Alfoers, i. 27
on the Papuans, 247
Albigenses, the, i. 142
Aleuts, the, i. 60, 250, ii. 109, 112
Alfoers, the, i. 27, 73, 192, ii. 69, 194
Algonkins, the, i. 17, ii. 12, 14
—, the priests of the, ordained to chastity, i. 201
All Souls, the feast of, i. 364
Alpine peasants, i. 358
Alsace, the folklore of, i. 337
Altmark, folklore in the, i. 242, ii. 201
Altruistic feeling in man, the, i. 167, 173, 174
Amaponda, the, ii. 166
Amatongas, regarded as evil-doers, i. 197
Amatongo, ancestral spirits, i. 146
Amaxosa, the, i. 134
Amazons, the, ii. 114
Amboina Islanders, the, i. 9, 74, 99, 135, 151, 152, 154, 164, 234, 288, 295, 321, ii. 49, 122, 126, 157, 158, 175, 201, 238, 239
Ambriz, the, ii. 9
Ambrose, St, on the kiss, i. 351
Ambrosia, Demophoon's anointment with, i. 139

America, the natives of, i. 62, 125, 205, 364, ii. 12, 13, 111
—, North, the natives of, i. 130, 180, 206, 216, 229, 250, 255, 266, 275, 289, 297, 325, 330, 342, 370, ii. 12, 109, 155, 164, 165, 167, 198
—, North-West, the natives of, i. 266, ii. 113, 164
—, South, the natives of, i. 250, 370, ii. 164, 206-207
American anthropologists, the views of, i. 61, 259
Amphitryon, the twin children of, ii. 176-177
Amulets, to divert evil, i. 168, 273
Amzmüz, the natives of, ii. 95
Anakes, the shrine of the, i. 59
Ancestral spirits, i. 12; the worship of, 132; in bullroarers, ii. 15-17; impart sexual strength, 17
"Ancients," Mr Shaw's, i. 33
Andamanese, the, i. 30, 34, 63, 139, 150, 186, 205, 267, 364, 373, ii. 8, 11, 58, 89, 119-120, 177, 194, 229, 250
A-ndombe, the, i. 244
Angami Nāgas, the, i. 355
Angekok, medicine-man, i. 184, ii. 70
Anger attributed to evil spirits, i. 30, 237
Angola, i. 143
Angoni, the, ii. 167
—, Central, the, ii. 164
Angoy, the king, forbidden to live with his wife, i. 201
Animals, eaten to acquire their properties, i. 136-137
Annual ceremonies, i. 326-327
Anointing, a mode of transmission of properties, i. 138
Antelopes, legend concerning the origin of, i. 93
Antennal play of insects, the, i. 338
Anthropomorphic nature of primitive thought, i. 21, 92; Goethe's epigram, i. 92
Antipathy between man and woman, i. 44
Ants, eaten by lethargic persons, i. 136
Anyanja, the, ii. 164, 165, 166, 167
Apache, the, ii. 164
Aphrodite Ἀχραία, the temple of, i. 58
Apollo, the oracle of, i. 59; in the *Symposium*, 310
Apple, the offer of an, as a proposal of marriage, ii. 127, 132-133
Appungerta, a division of a subclass, ii. 247
Arabic, loan-words used by Berbers, i. 83; term for flesh, ii. 227
Arabi River Papuans, the, i. 28
Arabs, the, i. 65, 299-300, 332, 349, 354, ii. 228
—, Aeneze, the, i. 203, ii. 85
—, ancient, the, ii. 102-103
—, Bedouin, the, i. 290
— of Mecca, the, i. 58
— of the Nedjea, the, i. 299
— of Sinai, the, i. 299, ii. 85
—, Shamar, the, i. 299
Aracan, the king of, ii. 107
—, the natives of, i. 250, ii. 110
Arak, spirits, i. 93
Araucanos, the, i. 36
Arawak, the, i. 78, ii. 156, 164, 179, 181, 233, 238
Archangel, the peasants of, ii. 207
Arecunas, the, ii. 179
Areoi, a Tahitian society, ii. 110
Ares, the temple of, i. 58
Arfaks, the, ii. 207
Argos, beliefs and practices in ancient, i. 3, 334, ii. 116
Ariadne, i. 369
Arinzes, the, i. 363
Aristophanes, in Plato's *Symposium*, i. 309-311
Arizona Indians, the, i. 130
Arkansas, incident at a negro funeral in, i. 370
Arkees, bridesmen, ii. 53
Armenian folklore, i. 73-74, ii. 59
Artemis, the temple of the Ephesian, i. 59
Artemisia and Mausolus, i. 365
Arthurian romance, the kiss in i. 359
Aru Islanders, the, i. 31, 100, 101, 129, 137, 199, 216, 223, 234, 241, 265, 272, 302, 365, ii. 47, 134, 158, 175, 189, 221, 228
Arungquiltha, magical influence and the object in which it is resident, i. 89, 113-114, 120, 155, 220
Arunta, the, i. 6, 47, 117, 154, 219-220, 221-222, 223, 367, 368, ii. 15, 23, 24, 28, 67, 149, 165, 166, 170, 222, 223, 239, 244-246, 249, 254
—, North, 244, 247
—, South, 247
Aryan age, kissing in the early, i. 338
Ascetic, ideal of Buddhism, i. 174; women dressed as men, ii. 115
Ashanti, the natives of, i. 194, 203
Asia, Central, a practice in, ii. 40
—, East, the peoples of, i. 338, 339-340
—, North, the peoples of, ii. 108, 111
Ἄσκησις, i. 174
Ἀσπασμός i. 351*n.*?
Ass, how to transfer a scorpion-sting to an, i. 126

Assam, the natives of, i. 67, 265, ii. 105, 238
Assineboin, the, ii. 165, 167
Assur-bani-pal, ii. 109
Assyria, the kiss in, i. 338, 348
Astrology, ii. 55, 57
Athamas and Ino hide Dionysus, i. 320
Athenian *Oschophoria*, the, ii. 106
Atiu Islanders, the, i. 190
Atlas, the natives of the, ii. 95
—, Great, the Berbers of the, i. 83
Atninga, avenging expedition, i. 135
Attraction and repulsion, the forces of, in sex, i. 44
Atua, god, i. 22, 34
Aurora Australis, i. 335-336
Austral or Tubuai Islanders, the, i. 45, 210
Australia, the natives of, i. 32, 39, 46, 52, 56, 143, 155, 165, 176, 180, 184, 206, 231, 241, 249, 258, 261, 263, 268, 275, 291, 296-297, 298, 302, 308, 312, 339, 342, 359, 362, 364, 375, ii. 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 30, 32*n.*[2], 66, 69, 71, 86, 96, 117, 154-155, 161, 164, 165, 190, 204, 206, 215, 220, 221, 224, 231, 233, 239, 242 *et seq.*
—, Central, the natives of, i. 33, 89, 93, 98, 102, 113-114, 135-136, 140, 141, 143, 152, 154, 163, 170, 180, 207, 232, 238, 242, 252, 258, 269, 280, 301, 302, 303, 304, 324, ii. 7, 9, 12, 25, 28, 67-69, 96, 103, 149, 151, 165, 166, 187, 222, 240, 249
—, North, the natives of, i. 28
—, North-East, the natives of, ii. 164, 167
—, North-West, the natives of, i. 101, ii. 164
—, South, the natives of, i. 33, 54, 89, 102, 373, ii. 17, 236
—, South-East, the natives of, i. 58, ii. 164, 165, 166
—, West, the natives of, i. 238, ii. 164
Austrian phrase for the kiss, i. 346
Auxerre, Council of, on kissing the dead, i. 351
Avebury, Lord, on the author's theory of the transmission of properties, i. 224*n.*[3]; on the mother-in-law taboo, ii. 160; on the author's theory of group-marriage, 203*n.*; on group-marriage, 250; on the author's theory of group-marriage, 252*n.*[1]; on the *jus primae natis*, 256
Axe, magic, as the cause of disease, i. 119
Baal, kissing the image of, i. 355
Bábar, i. 147
Babar Islanders, the, i. 29, 31, 66, 101, 129, 152, 162, 166, 181, 222-223, 234, 261, 274, 295, 302, 320, ii. 41, 42, 49, 63, 130, 149, 189, 191, 221, 228
Babul tree, the, ii. 57
Babylonian religious prostitution, ii. 255
Baca, the, ii. 84-85
Bachofen, J. J., on the couvade, ii. 180 *et seq.*; on descent through the mother, 230
Bächtold, H., on the exchange of gifts, ii. 140
Badi, the evil principle which attends living things, i. 116-117
Baganda, the, i. 35, 64, ii. 164, 165
Bageshu, the, ii. 9
Ba-Huana, the, ii. 166, 167
Bain, F. W., his tale of the creation of woman, i. 42-43; embodying the serpent motif, 233-234
Baise-main, the, i. 353
Baiser l'huis, i. 353
— *le verrouil*, i. 353
Bakairí Indians, the, i. 51, 174, 190
Bakalaí, the, i. 55, 56, 186, ii. 151
Bakgalagali, the, i. 25
Bakongo, the, i. 35
Bale muri, the, i. 361, ii. 52
Balian, priestess, ii. 108
Bali Islanders, the, i. 48, 328, ii. 131
Ball-games, magical, i. 368
Bananas, women forbidden to eat, i. 211, 212
Bandicoot, menstruation caused by certain dreams of a, i. 231; forbidden to women and children, ii. 12
Bangala, the, i. 70, ii. 106, 110
Bangerang, the, i. 178
Banks Islanders, the, i. 160, 185, 208, ii. 140, 158, 164
Bannars, the, i. 101
Bantu, the, i. 17, 51, 70
—, Eastern, the, ii. 164, 166
Banyai, the, ii. 157
Banyoro, the, ii. 164
Baptism, beliefs connected with, i. 242-243; a savage prototype of, ii. 7
Baraka, i. 355
Baram, Borneo, the natives of, i. 182
βάρβαρος, i. 27
Barbarus, i. 27
Barbers, permanently taboo, i. 192
Barea, the, i. 51, 81, 125, 203, 254, 296, ii. 154, 194, 238
Baring, a subclass, ii. 244, 245

Barn, the combination of sorcery and violence in the production of death, i. 118
Barongo, the, ii. 165
Barricades against evil, i. 273
Bartels, M. See Ploss, H. H., *and* M. Bartels
Bashkirs, the, i. 30
Basir, priest, ii. 108
Basium, a kiss, i. 343
Basoga, the, ii. 164
Basutos, the, i. 35, 72, 73, 75, 81, 185, 189, 272, 298, ii. 23-24, 104, 188, 199
Bat, the, a male sex-totem, i. 56, 57, ii. 224-225; its shape taken by evil men, i. 191
Batang Lupar river, the, i. 243
Bathing, before eating, i. 183; after sexual intercourse, 239; after menstruation and child-birth, 276; to remove taboo, 276-278; during a purification ceremony, 326; after intercourse, ii. 22; before marriage, 39; forbidden to a traveller, 148
Batoka, the, ii. 9
Batta, the, i. 30, 207, 237, ii. 69, 120, 164, 165, 239
Bavarian folklore, ii. 106
Bayeye, the, i. 61
Bear-hunt, continence before a, i. 69
Beard worn by bride, i. 3, ii. 116
Bearded Venus of Cyprus, the, ii. 107
Bears, analogies to the kiss among, i. 338
Beating to drive out evil spirits, i. 277
Bechuanas, the, i. 64, 88, 129, 134, ii. 38, 190
Bedouin Arabs, the, i. 290, 299, ii. 44, 46, 47, 81, 85, 234, 235
Bedui, the, ii. 43, 47, 48-49
Beef, eaten to acquire strength, i. 188, 331
Bell, Mr, i. 361
Belyando, the, i. 102, ii. 227
Benediction, the Roman Catholic gesture of, i. 116
Beneficence, the contagious nature of, i. 133
Bengal, the natives of, i. 3, 49, 52, 204, 293
— Bay of, the natives of the, i. 63
Beni-Ahsen, the, i. 64
Beni-Amer, the, i. 53, 203, 313, 331, ii. 51, 150-151, 194
Beni-Harith, the, i. 203
Bentley, Mrs. H. M., on the Congolese, i. 27
Bentley, W. H., on the natives of San Salvador, i. 27
Berbers, the, i. 83, ii. 35, 95, 132
Berdashe, a man living as a woman, ii. 109
Bern, folklore of, ii. 104
Besisi, the, i. 363
Betel, the use of, in degrading a Kandyan lady, i. 124, 193; injury by means of, 163; in love-charms, 222; chewing, a mode of union, i. 289; present of, at betrothal, ii. 28, 124, 126; eating, at marriage, 130, 134
Betrothal by proxy, ii. 28
Betsileo, the, ii. 40
Bharas, the, ii. 58
Bhilalahs, the, ii. 38, 235
Bhils, the, ii. 38, 101
Bible, swearing on the, i. 356
Bihar, the natives of, i. 322
Billing of birds, the, i. 338
Binna or *spinna*, adult, ii. 190
Biological difference of occupation between the sexes, i. 61 *et seq.*; origin of union by exchange, 289
Biology, its use in anthropology, i. 2
Birds, legend concerning the origin of, i. 93; their shapes taken by evil men, 101; their shapes taken by evil persons or spirits, 104; disease attributed to spiritual, 118-119; in connection with menstruation, 231; heads of, on phallic towers, 232
Bismarck Archipelago, the natives of the, i. 217
Biting in the kiss, i. 340
"Black drink," the, of the Seminoles, i. 330-331, 336
"Black ox sacrifice," the, ii. 102
Blood, transmission of properties by means of, i. 134, 253, 254, 256-258, 282, 331, ii. 10-11; "the life," i. 134, 228; administered in sickness, 140, 241, 331; theories concerning the part of, in savage thought, 257, 257*n.*; a substitute for salt, 258; used in making a contract, 290; used in forming artificial brotherhood, 290-292; exchange of, ii. 122-123; wine not a substitute for, 133
— brotherhood, the principles of, i. 288, 290-292, 315
— revenge, i. 296; connected with sorcery, 97
— tie, weak among savages, i. 257-258, 313, ii. 121-123, 135, 188*n.*[4], 221 *et seq.*
Blowing, into spoon before eating, i. 28; bewitching by, 144; to neutralise Satanic operations, 184

Boers, the, i. 164
Bohemian folklore, i. 317, ii. 104
Boitai, an evil spirit, i. 234
Bombay, the natives of, ii. 116
Bondei, the, i. 146, ii. 119, 153, 157
Bone, the pointing, i. 155
Bones, the properties of, i. 141-142, 158-159
Bongos, the, i. 103
Boni, the king of, i. 360
Booandik, the, i. 253
Boortwerio, ii. 226
Bora, on initiation ceremony, i. 60, ii. 3-4, 18
Boring, meaning of the practice of, i. 168
Borneo, the natives of, i. 67, 91, 148, 182, 207, 250, ii. 26, 60, 124, 131
—, North, the natives of, i. 293
—, North-West, the natives of, i. 207, 252
—, South-East, the natives of, ii. 120
Bororó Indians, the, i. 51, 205
Botany Bay, the natives of, ii. 86
Boté, "not man, not women," ii. 113
"Bowering" the bridal pair, ii. 50-51
Bow Islanders, the, i. 210
Boylya, a magical essence, i. 119
Brahman, forbidden to associate with an outcast, i. 124, 193; kisses the Rajah of Travancore, 127; forbidden to eat the food of an enemy, etc., 197; forbidden to touch a menstruous woman, etc., 200; forbidden to eat food given by a woman, etc., 204; practises the custom of giving children unpleasant names, 322; marriage ceremony, the, ii. 31; wedding, sleep forbidden at a, 60
Brajerak, i. 18
Braknas, the, i. 202
Brandenburg folklore, i. 214, 256, 302
Brazil, the natives of, i. 59, 72, 216, ii. 106, 112, 114, 132, 179
—, Central, the natives of, i. 247-248
Breaking vessels at marriage, ii. 134
Breasts, of boys amputated, i. 254
Breath, transmission of properties by means of the, i. 124, 125, 144
Breton, Raymond, on the language of the Caribs, i. 77
Bride-gifts, ii. 137 *et seq.*
— -price, the, ii. 27, 138 *et seq.*, 239
Bridesmaids, ii. 48-49, 53-54
Bridesmothers, ii. 62
Brittany, folklore of, ii. 51
Brogan, the relation of, ii. 252
Brooke, Rajah, beliefs of the Dyaks concerning, i. 133; on Malay women in men's dress, 241
Brother and sister, separation of, i. 2, 209, 213, 214, 260-270, 315, ii. 27, 168, 208 *et seq.*
Brotherhood, artificial, i. 288, 290-292; feeling of, between males, i. 52
Brothers, separation of, i. 262
Brutus, i. 358
Brynhild, Sigurd and, ii. 64
Buddhist, the, ascetic ideal, i. 174; maxim concerning eating in silence, 183; man not allowed to eat food cooked by a woman, 200; priest despised, 318
Budera, ii. 226
Bugis, the, i. 22, 250, ii. 60, 109
Bukaua, the, i. 34
Bu-ku-ru, ceremonial uncleanness, i. 40, 89, 120-121
Bulâgi, nose-ring, i. 323.
Bulcoin, a subclass, ii. 244, 245
Bulk, a pebble of magic power, i. 118, 163
Bull killed on behalf of the king, i. 274, 331
Bullock's flesh eaten to acquire strength, i. 188
Bullroarers, i. 117, 119-120, ii. 15-17, 28
Bulthara, a subclass, ii. 247
Bundah, a subclass, ii. 244, 245
Bundu, a men's association, i. 55
Bunya-Bunya, the, i. 147, 162, 188, ii. 155
Burckhardt, J. L., on the hospitality of the Arabs, i. 299
Burdash, "half-man, half-woman," ii. 113
Bure, club-house, i. 46
Burial, objected to, i. 131
Burial-places of ill omen, i. 131
See also Funerals, Mourning
Burma, Buddhism in, i. 200
—, the king of, ii. 107
—, the natives of, i. 49, 125, 193, 267, 274, 289, ii. 35, 45
Burton, Sir R. F., on the fear of strangers, i. 27
Buru Islanders, the, i. 72, 137, 162, 222, 235, 265, 293, 294, ii. 27, 157, 158 189, 194
Buryat, the, ii. 229

Cacongo, the king of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 194
Cadiacks, the, i. 169, 197, 239, ii. 238
Caelibaris hasta, the, ii. 38
Calabar, i. 55
California, the Indians of, i. 50, 54, 82, 92, 98, 206, 255, 264, ii. 113, 178, 179

California, Peninsula of, ii. 165
—, South, the natives of, ii. 6-7
Cambodians, the, i. 48, 93, 99, 100, 128, 154, 162, 193, 235, 267, ii. 6, 173, 234
Cameron, —, on the Warua, i. 202
Can, a personal name, ii. 191
Canna, the king of, not allowed to be seen drinking, i. 195
Cannibalism, due to the belief in the transmissibility of properties, i. 34, 188; at a peace-making, 295
Canoes, the use of, forbidden to women, i. 7
Canon Law, marriage in, ii. 247
Carians, the, i. 203
Caribs, the, i. 77-78, ii. 64, 167, 179, 182
Caroline Islanders, the, i. 48, 71
Carver, Jonathan, on an initiation ceremony, i. 325-326
Cassine plant and drink, the, i. 330-331
Caste, the foundation of, i. 123; in Uripiv, 192; in India, 193
Castrated men treated as women, i. 251
Castration-complex, the, ii. 74-76
Cataglottism of pigeons, the, i. 338
Catamenia. *See* Menstruation
Catholic Church, marriage in the early, i. 6; gesture of benediction, 116
Catlin, G., on the separation of husbands and wives among the American Indians, i. 205
Cats, analogies to the kiss among, i. 339
Cattle, women not allowed to touch, i. 7, 64; liable to death during mourning, 129; sacred, 141
Caucasians, the, ii. 111
Caul, beliefs connected with the, i. 151-152
Celebes, the natives of, i. 9, 101, 135, 192, 273, 360, ii. 38, 69, 130, 140, 179, 189
—, Central, the natives of, i. 293, ii. 157, 162
—, South, the natives of, i. 7, 9, 22, 91, 152, 218. 250, ii. 5, 39, 52, 53, 55, 62, 90, 126, 136, 193, 199
— and Papua, the natives of the Archipelago between, i. 362
Celts, the, i. 319, 340, 343
Centipedes, a cure for the bite of, i. 143
Central Provinces, India, the natives of the, i. 274
Ceram, the natives of, i. 48, 75, 152, 156, 199, 216, 217, 219, 238, 252, 272, 295-296, 304, 314, 315, ii. 5-6, 19, 21, 26, 96, 123, 126, 130, 150, 157, 158, 161, 189, 197, 211, 239
Ceramlaut, the natives of, i. 8, 31, 72, 100, 228, 322, ii. 47, 126, 189, 201, 220, 228
Cest daucassin et de nicolete, i. 3
Ceylon, the natives of, i. 124, 193, 263, ii. 55, 129, 196
Chaco, the, ii. 40
Chalmers, J., on the Dyaks' belief in the virtues of contact, i. 115-116; on wedding dances, ii. 136
Change and exchange, the principles of, ch. xii
Charles the Simple, i. 354
Chastity of girls, carefully guarded, i. 266; pre-nuptial, general, 268
Chepara, the, ii. 164
Cherokees, the, i. 37, 126, 278, 282, 327, ii. 229
Chhajú, as worthless as a winnowing basket, i. 322
Chhêdí, pierced, i. 323
Chhittar, an old shoe, i. 322
Chickens burnt to divert cholera, i. 274
Child-birth, evil spirits feared at, i. 31, 235, ii. 174; men not allowed to be present at, i. 72-73, 99, 242; ii. 175; produces uncleanness, i. 91, 120, 201, 333; practice in case of death in, 99; women secluded at, 148; sexual intercourse forbidden after, 239; women feared at, 254 *et seq.*; sacrifice of a sheep at, 332; the result of death in, ii. 35; practices connected with dress, etc., 103-104; beliefs connected with, ch. xvi
Child marriage, ii. 58
Children, are diffident about revealing the name, i. 165; the first hair of, sacrificed, 171; separated from man, 204, 205, 208, 210; the relation of parents and, ii. ch. xvi
Chinde, the devil, i. 37, 128
Chinese, the, i. 8, 24, 29, 31, 32, 98, 205, 318, 322, 339, 340, ii. 36-37, 45, 64, 91, 103, 134, 146, 188, 246*n.*[2], 249, 260
— criticism of the European kiss, i. 342
— folklore, i. 24
— praying-machine, i. 164
— term for a stranger, i. 27
Chippeway, the, ii. 235
Chiquito, the, i. 98, 104, 144, ii. 145
Chiriguano, the, i. 75, 231, ii. 184
Chisasi, oil-vessel, ii. 148
Chitomé, i. 227
Cholera, straw and chickens burnt to divert, i. 274
Chota Nagpur, the natives of, i. 334

Christians, the early, fasting among, i. 186; the kiss among, 344 *et seq.*; dancing among, 371
Christian State of Matrimony, The, quoted, ii. 128
Christmas, festivals, i. 334; practice, a, 358
Chrysee, the natives of, i. 332
Chrysostom, St, on the oath, i. 356
Chthonian hierology, a basis of the, i. 132
Chúhrá, scavenger, i. 322
Chukchi, the, ii. 108, 111
Chukmas, the, ii. 129
Churinga, a bullroarer, i. 117, 119-120, ii. 15-17
Chuvashes, the, i. 8, 60
Cicero on the kissing of a statue of Heracles, i. 353
Cicisbeate, the, ii. 256, 258
Cingalese, the, 124, 193, 263, ii. 55, 129, 196
Circe, the transmissible effeminacy of, i. 251
"Circumcised," a term applied to men living as women, ii. 112
Circumcision, the sexes kept apart after, i. 55, ii. 5; the use of the part removed at, 140, ii. 149; the use of hair after, i. 141; "the cutting that saves," 170; its origin and meaning, i. 170, ii. 20; as a sacrifice, i. 171; as a "cleansing," 171; change of dress at, 319; age reckoned from, ii. 3; fasting at, 184
Clallams, the, i. 128
Classificatory systems, the, ii. 239-250
Clay, red, used in charms, i. 158; purification with, 333
Clement of Alexandria on the kiss of peace, i. 351
Cleveland, folklore in, ii. 36
Clique, the foundation of the, i. 123
Closing of doors, etc., at marriage, i. 8
Clothing. *See* Dress
Clough, A. H., quoted, i. 108
Club, the foundation of the, i. 123
Club-houses, men's, taboo to women, i. 46 *et seq.*, 210 *et seq.*, 265
Coast, Murring, the, ii. 225
Cochin, the natives of, i. 204, ii. 64
Cochin-China, the natives of, i. 183
Cock-fighting, i. 66-67
Cocoa, women forbidden to eat, i. 211
Cocoa-nut, the unbilical cord buried with a, i. 152; as a "mouth-opener," 169; women forbidden to eat, 212
— milk, to remove defilement, i. 277
Columbia, the natives of, i. 50, 68, 144
Comanches, the, i. 275
Commensal relations, ch. vii
Communism not found in early society, i. 181
Confareatio, marriage by, ii. 127
Confession of sins, i. 202, 301, ii. 121, 144, 146, 184
Confirmation, ch. xiii
Congo, the natives of, i. 35, 98, 103, 227, 251, 298, 325, ii. 22, 110, 145, 157, 164, 166, 167
—, the King of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 194
—, the Lower, the natives of, ii. 164
—, the Queen of, sacrifices by, i. 244; dressed as a man, ii. 114
—, the Upper, the natives of, i. 35, 70, 290
Congreve, William, quoted, i. 345
Conitium, the, i. 367
Consummation of the marriage deferred, ii. 61-66
Contact, the ultimate test of human relations, i. 107; the expression of greeting between friends, 108; avoided between enemies, 108; abnormal manifestations of, 108-109; the mental basis of, 109; the physiological basis of, 109-110; avoidance of, general in taboo, 111; the transmissibility of properties behind beliefs connected with, 112; beliefs connected with the power or influence of, 112 *et seq.*; in connection with disgust and impurity, 173-174; the evil eye an extension of, 197; sexual, chs. viii, ix
"Contaminated" by a person, to be, the significance of this expression, i. 123
Contempt transmitted by spitting, i. 146
Continence before hunting and war, i. 65 *et seq.*, 227-228, 254 *et seq.*; to retain strength, 276; after marriage, ii. 61-66
Contract, making a, i. 290; the alleged transition from status to, 306, 306*n*.
Conybeare, F. C., on the εἰρήνη, i. 351-352
Cook, James, on taboo, i. 14; on the Polynesian eating taboos, 212-213; on "rubbing noses," 339
Cooking, the province of women, i. 62, 255; dress changed before, 184; alone, 190
Copts, the, ii. 47
Coroados, the, ii. 178

Coropos, the, ii. 178
Corpse, transmission of properties by means of a, i. 196; use of the humours of the, 364-365
Cos, the priest of Heracles at, ii. 109; bridegroom at, dressed in women's clothes, 116
Costa Rica, beliefs and practices in, i. 40, 72, 89, 120
Courage, the contagious nature of, i. 134-137
Cousin-marriage, sanctioned by exogamy, ii. 33; discussed, 207 *et seq.*, 242 *et seq.*
Couvade, the, i. 3, ii. 177-188
Coverdale, Miles, ii. 128
Coyotes, the Digger Indians believe they derive from, i. 93
Crane-dance, the, i. 369
Creek Indians, the, i. 69, 227
Cremation, i. 131
Crete, Theseus dances the crane-dance on his return from, i. 369
Crime, incited by evil spirits, i. 30; the contagious nature of, 126-127
Crocodile, its shape taken by evil men, i. 101; in connection with menstruation, 231; how to protect against, 281
Croesus, i. 252
Crooke, W., on tree-marriage, ii. 56
Cross-cousin-marriage, ii. 216 *et seq.*, 242 *et seq.*
Crowing of a hen regarded as ominous, i. 24
Cuba, the natives of, i. 255, ii. 64
Cubatine, an exogamous class, ii. 244-245
Cudinas, men living as women, ii. 112
Cuedicb, family, ii. 227
Cupping-cure, the, i. 118, 119
Curr, E. M., on the observance of taboo, i. 179; on the education of children, 261-262; on the violence of the Australian husband, ii. 86; in marriage by capture in Australia, 96; on the mother-in-law taboo in Australia, 154-155; on the aim of the Australian marriage-system, 206
Curses, the tip of the tongue the seat of, i. 144-145; the "singing" of, 155
Curumbas, the, i. 362
Cutting (mutilation), at funerals, i. 275
Cyprus, the temple of Aphrodite Ἀχραία in, i. 58; the Bearded Venus of, ii. 107
Cyril, St, on the kiss, i. 352
Cyrus, i. 252
Dahomey, the king of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 194
Dakbeil and *dakbal*, protector and protected, i. 299
Dakotas, the, i. 7, 22, 62, 69
Dall, W. H., on his reception with shooting, i. 374
Dama Islanders, the, i. 208
Damaras, the, i. 73, 185, 254, ii. 3, 43, 49, 142, 172, 175, 176, 227
Danaë, the story of, i. 236
Dances, to intimidate the women, i. 54; the sexes separated at, 60; women excluded from, 60-61; woman painted like a man at, 243; erotic, 337; war-, 366-367, 374; fertility-, 368; beliefs connected with, 368 *et seq.*; at funerals, 370; and religion, 371; to drive away evil influences, 372; at an initiation ceremony, ii. 23; at child-birth, 105; inversion of ornaments at, 106; death-, 106; at marriage, 136
Danger, the primitive conception of, i. 7
Dardistan, the natives of, ii. 129
Darwin, Charles, on "rubbing noses," i. 339; and the Darwinians, ii. 70; his *Origin of Species*, 254
Darwin, G. H., on inbreeding, ii. 206
Daudai, the natives of, ii. 164
Daughter, father and, separation of, i. 211, 261, 264, ii. 168; in the care of the mother, 261
David's dance before the Ark, i. 371
Death, believed to be unnatural, i. 32 *et seq.*, 90 *et seq.*, 127-128; produces uncleanness, i. 91, 120, the contagious nature of, 129-132; from moral fear, 176; from breaking taboo, 191; kissing at, 358
Dea Virginensis, i. 9
Deer, opinion of, of a man in love, i. 70; legend concerning the origin of, 93; female, not eaten during mourning, 199; -hunting, ii. 147
Defloration, ii. 66-76
Degradation, the contagious nature of, i. 124-125
Delawares, the, i. 256
Delos, Theseus dances the crane-dance at, i. 369
Delphi, the oracle of Apollo at, i. 59
Demeter's anointment of Demophoon, i. 139
Demophoon anointed by Demeter, i. 139
Dere, a deity, ii. 150
Descent, savage theories of human, i. 92-93

Desire, and disgust, i. 172-173; promoted by eating sexual organs, 223
Devil, the residuary legatee of superstitions, i. 26
Devonshire folklore, i. 140, 141
Dextrarum conjunctio, the, ii. 119
Diakité-Sarracolese, the, ii. 112
Dieri, the, i. 33, 54, 89, 101, 135, 169, 181, 230, 258, 302, 362, ii. 8, 10, 17, 253, 256, 258
Dieting in savage and civilised medicine, i. 187
Diffidence a characteristic of early man, i. 41
Digger Indians, the, i. 92
Dilevi, an exogamous class, ii. 244
Dilbi, an exogamous class, ii. 244
Dingan, i. 164
Diomed and Achilles, i. 293
Dionysus, the hiding of, i. 320
Dionysus Pseudanor, ii. 109
Disease, believed to be unnatural, i. 32 *et seq.*, 90 *et seq.*; the contagious nature of, 127-129; practices in cases of, 169-170; not prevented by circumcision, 170
Disease-makers, i. 158
Disguise to avoid danger, i. 317 *et seq.*, ii. 49 *et seq.*, 106-107
Disgust, the psychology of, i. 172 *et seq.*
" Disinfecting " evil spirits, i. 277, ii. 37
Ditto, girl, ii. 115
Djeetgun, the sex-totem of the female Kurnai, ii. 79, 225
Djever, bride-carrier, ii. 62
Dobrizhoffer, M., on the bashfulness of of the Abipone women, ii. 44; on the care of Abipone daughters, 234
Doêta, representative of the bride and groom, ii. 55
Dogs, excluded from some Fijian temples, i. 59; the shapes of, taken by evil men, 101; eaten to acquire their characteristics, 137; ill-omen in hunting if, eat genital organs, 139; whooping-cough transmitted to, 140; disease transmitted to, 144; used in oaths, 156; not allowed in the house when the king eats, 194; classed with women and children, 205; analogies to the kiss among, 338
Dominica, i. 77
Donagla, the, ii. 164
Dotare = *osclare*, i. 349
Dravidians, beliefs and practices of the, i. 101, 265
Drawers worn by women as protection during menstruation, i. 231
Dreams, fear of meeting a dead man's soul in, i. 129; ancestral spirits in, 146; menstruation caused by certain, 231; of snakes, good omen, 232; erotic, attributed to a god, 233
Dress, bridegroom in women's, i. 3; polluted by death, 130; a substitute for the man, 145; unlucky to throw away one's, 162-163; changes before cooking, 184; women in men's, 243-244, 320 *et seq.*; men in women's, 250-252, 318 *et seq.*; male and female may not be mingled, 264; thrown away to remove one's own impurities, 278; new, 333; wearing the king's, 361; disguise in, ii. 49 *et seq.*
— exchange of, a sign of amity, i. 293; on Shrove Monday, 321; on Shrove Tuesday, 334; during festivals, 334; survey of, ii. 101-117
Drinking. *See* Eating and drinking
Drowning, the savage's refusal to help a person who is, i. 129
Drud, evil spirits, ii. 104
Druses, the, i. 8, 203, ii. 44, 145
Duckuna, to strike, i. 101
Dudilaa, a god, i. 166, 292
Duke of York Islanders, the, ii. 126
Dullness, the contagious nature of, i. 125
Dummies, to mislead evil influences, i. 273
Durham, folklore in, ii. 36
Durkheim, E., on the author's theories of the part of blood in savage thought, i. 257*n*.
Dusuns, the, i. 293
Dwelling-place, fear of a new, i. 29; sexual separation in the, i. 44 *et seq.*
Dyaks, the, i. 115-116, 125, 133, 207, 243, 252, 273, 328, ii. 12, 63, 94, 108, 109, 175, 178, 189, 196
—, Hill, the, i. 111, 177, 265, 268
—, Sea, i. 250
Dyoor, the, i. 293

Eagle-hunt, continence before an, i. 69
Ears, mutilation of the, i. 168, 172
Easter Monday, betrothal on, ii. 124
— Sunday, kissing on, i. 352
East Indies, the natives of the, i. 289, 370, ii. 9, 184, 209, 239
Eating and drinking, as means of transmission of properties, i. 124 *et seq.*, 145; secrecy about, 166; prayer before, 166; disgust in connection

with, 172; in private or alone, 174, 182, 190 *et seq.*; in silence, 183; prayer before, 183; bathing before, 183; in special places, 184; tasting before, 184-185; witchcraft at, 195
Eating and drinking together a mode of union, i. 289 *et seq.*, 336, ii. 226; at marriage, ii. 117 *et seq.*
Eating and drinking together forbidden to, brother and sister, i. 2, 209, 213, 214, 262
— family and first-born child, i. 209
— father and daughter, i. 211
— husband and wife, i. 2, 49, 125-126, 199-214, 242, 263, 270
— inferiors and superiors, i. 191-195, 203, 210
— males and females, i. 100, 198-214, 262, 263
— man and children, i. 204, 205, 208, 210
— man and his mother-in-law, ii. 154, 157
— mother and son, i. 205, 209, 210, 242, 262
— young and old, i. 191-192
Economic influences in marriage, ii. 237-238
Ecstasy attributed to evil spirits, i. 31
Eels, the prohibition against eating, i. 140, 232; connected with sexual matters, 232-233
Efate, New Hebrides, i. 120
Effeminacy, the transmissible nature of, i. 126, 224 *et seq.*, 244, 251 *et seq.*
Egbo, a men's association, i. 55
Eggs, forbidden food, i. 209
Egungun, a Yoruba god, i. 96-97
Egypt, ancient, the preservation of the dead body in, i. 105; circumcision in, 171; mourning in, 319; the kiss unknown in, 338, 343
—, Jews of, the, ii. 117
—, modern, the nature of, i. 17, 120, 125, 149, 150, 203, 317-318, 319, ii. 35, 42, 46, 52, 53, 54, 64-65, 77, 85, 88-89, 93, 116, 145, 172, 237
—, Upper, the natives of, i. 366
Εἰρήνη, i. 351
Ek, ii. 191
Elatea, the shrine of the Anakes at, i. 59
Electra-complex, the, ii. 74-76
Electricity and taboo, i. 13
Elegbra, a god, i. 171, 233, ii. 176
Elephant-hunt, continence before an, i. 71
Eleusinian Mysteries, the, i. 354
El-booroobeb, the flight, ii. 47
Elijah, the mantle of, ii. 187
Elks, legend concerning the origin of, i. 93
Ellis, *Sir* A. B., on circumcision, i. 171
Ellis, H. H., on the sexual impulse in savages, i. 65*n.*[3]; on the special terms for sexual matters, 82; on the properties of semen, 142-143; on women's secrecy, 173; on female modesty, 173, 217-218, 226, ii. 80-81; on marriage rites and love-charms, ii. 29*n.*[2]
Ellis, W., on the beliefs of the Malagasy, i. 23; on the Polynesian eating taboos, 211-213; on the Polynesians' fear of evil spirits, 360
El-moran, the warriors' set of the Masai, ii. 22
Emery sues Groby for breach of promise, ii. 124
Emetics, the use of, i. 281, 328, 330
Emotion believed due to evil spirits, i. 30-31
Empedocles, the φιλία of, i. 108
Emu, the eating of, forbidden, i. 179, ii. 13
— fat used in charms, i. 158
— wren, the, a male sex-totem, i. 57, ii. 225
Enchanters considered "unclean," i. 114
Encounter Bay, South Australia, the natives of, i. 159, 253
Endeh, the natives of, ii. 63
Endogamy, ii. 212
Engagement, ch. xiii.
England, medieval, women's liberty to kiss in, i. 344; later restriction of the same, 345
English folklore, i. 8, 358, ii. 125-126
Engwura, an initiation ceremony, ii. 9, 23
Enjoy, P. d', on the kiss, i. 339, 340
Ennius, his three languages, i. 78
Enthusiasm attributed to evil spirits, i. 31
Ephesian Artemis, the temple of the, i. 59
Epileptic symptoms as a sign of seership, i. 25
Epistropheus, the use of the, i. 142
Equador, the Indians of, i. 125
Equilla timma, "projecting their smell into it," i. 143
Erasmus, D., on English women's freedom to kiss, i. 344
Erathipa, child-stone, ii. 222
Erkincha, a disease, i. 113, 170, 220
Erlukwirra, women's camp, i. 269, ii. 187
Erotic, dances, i. 337; symbolism of the kiss, 343

Erukalavandhu, the, ii. 103, 180, 186
Erythrae, the temple of Heracles at, i. 59
Erzgebirg, folklore of the, ii. 201
Esau kisses Jacob, i. 346
Eskimo, the, i. 62, 79, 184, 289, 297, 327, 336, 337, 339, ii. 229
—, Central, the, i. 130
—, Eastern, the, ii. 115
Essence and properties, the idea of, familiar to savages, i. 111, 150
Esthonians, the, ii. 51
Ethiopians, the, i. 132, 147, ii. 44
Ethnology, the value of psychology to, i. 107
Etiquette, the savage's observance of, i. 181, 375; make-believe in, 374
Euahlayi, the, i. 47
Εὔνοστος, the temple of, i. 59
Eunuchs treated as women, i. 251, ii. 109
Euro, i. 238
Europe, folklore of, i. 9, 24, 73-74, 214, 226, 232, 242-243, 256, 314, 339, ii. 36, 52, 53, 59, 80, 92, 116, 124, 127, 134, 137, 177, 197, 201, 229
— East, folklore of, ii. 116
—, medieval, kissing in, i. 348; training of knights in, ii. 11; the *jus primae noctis* in, 255-256
— modern, sexual taboo in, i. 82; diffidence about revealing the name in, 165; medicine of, 187; the kiss in, 340 *et seq.*; wearing lover's colours in, ii. 105; the wife's name in, 195; the feminine ideal of, 261
—, South, folklore of, i. 176; the Cicisbeate of, ii. 256, 258
Europeans, the dying out of native races on contact with, i. 180
Eusofzye, the, i. 267
Eve's apple, the story of, ii. 132-133
Evil eye, the belief in the, i. 149, 176, 197, 219, 319, 320, 321, ii. 41, 52, 80
— spirits and influences, fear of, i. 7-8, 15 *et seq.*; misuse of the term, 19; confused with material causes, 88 *et seq.*, 231-232; means to prevent and combat, 271 *et seq.*, 317 *et seq.*; expulsion of, 326-327; expulsion of, at marriage, 36 *et seq.*
Ewe-speaking peoples, the, i. 31, 171
Exchange, the principles of union by, chs. xi., xii.
Excision, the practice of, i. 172, ii. 20
Excrement, injury by means of a person's, i. 162
Exogamy, the alleged cause, of the women's language, i. 78; of the taboo against husband and wife eating together, 214; based on sexual taboo between brothers and sisters, 270; sanctions cousin-marriage, ii. 33; not the result of marriage by capture, 98-99; discussion of, 204-220, 242 *et seq.*
External soul, the, i. 151, 187, 228, ii. 13 *et seq.* *See also* Soul
Eyes, mutilation of the, i. 168

" Face-rubbing," i. 339
Fahrland, folklore in, i. 214
Fall of man, Plato on the, i. 310-311
False bride, the, ii. 51
Family and first-born child, separation of, i. 209
Fan, the, i. 254
Fan Kwei, foreign devil, i. 27
Fasting, before hunting and war, i. 68, 69, ii. 149; at puberty, i. 75, 330, ii. 11-12; the meaning of, i. 186; before marriage, 204; to divert evil, 276, 327; at marriage, ii. 60-61; after childbirth, i. 178; at circumcision, 184
Fat, the properties of, i. 135, 138-139, 158, 303, 333, ii. 13
Father, soul transmitted by the, i. 229; has the care of sons, 261
— and daughter, separation of, i. 211, 261, 264, ii. 168
Father-fixation, ii. 74-76
Father-in-law taboo, the, ii. 155, 166
Father Sky, ii. 31, 31*n.*[4]
Fear of evil influences, i. 7; evil spirits, 7; the unusual, 223; the abnormal, 23-26; the new or unknown, 26-29; doing something for the first time, 29-30; of the transmission of feminine qualities, 44 *et seq.*, 112 *et seq.*, 224 *et seq.*; between the sexes, ii. 142
Feast of Fools, the, i. 333-334
Female properties, the transmission of, chs. viii, ix.
Females and males, separation of, i. 2, 25-27, 44 *et seq.*, 148, 200-214, 242, 253, 256, 260-270, ii. 4-6, 143 *et seq.*, 164-168; the relations of, i. 43; antipathy between, 44; mutually dangerous, 105
Fern owl, the, " belongs " to women, i. 57
Fertility rite, tree-marriage as a, ii. 56
Fescennina locutio, the, ii. 80
" Fetish, taking off the," i. 185

Fez, the natives of, ii. 47, 52
Fiancée, separation of a man and his, i. 2, ii. 25-27
Fife, folklore at, ii. 51
Fijians, the, i. 22, 45-46, 59, 66, 72, 79, 80, 90, 152, 176, 177, 190, 192, 196, 199, 209, 216, 262, 275, 279, 307, 335, 361, 372, 374, ii. 40, 52, 87, 107, 118, 130, 154, 176, 206, 213*n.*, 242, 252
Finch County, New South Wales, an initiation ceremony held in, ii. 3-4
Finger cut off to avert calamity, i. 274-275
— nail clippings used to transmit strength, i. 142
Fire, seclusion from, at puberty, i. 236, ii. 20; myth to explain the origin of, 238; to divert evil, 273
Firôzpur, the natives of, i. 323
First-born child and the family, separation of, i. 209
— son and his sister, i. 263
First-fruits, ceremony of the, i. 29, 331
First time, fear of doing something the, i. 29-30, 168
Fish, not allowed to eat the remains of a man's food, i. 161; certain, forbidden to women, 209, 212; certain, regarded as poisonous, 282
Fison, L., on marriage by capture, ii. 95; on the mother-in-law taboo, 159-160; on an Irish form of proposal of marriage, 216-218; on residence, 233; on the classificatory system, 240; on group-marriage, 250-252
Flamen Dialis, the, ii. 127
Flesh and blood, the means of transmission of properties, i. 134
Flies, magic, as the bringers of sickness, i. 119
Flight, the, at marriage, ii. 46 *et seq.*, 235-236
Flores Islanders, the, ii. 131
Florida, the Indians of, ii. 167
Flour, belief connected with the eating of, i. 28; thrown over the bridegroom, ii. 38
"Flower names," ii. 8
Folk-medicine, i. 137 *et seq.*
Food, strange, feared, i. 27-28, 189; as a vehicle of transmission of properties, 124 *et seq.*, 145; *ngadhungi* by means of, 157-161; contact by means of, ch. vii.; transmission of properties by means of, i. 184 *et seq.*; a pollution, 276; the part of, in the removal of taboo, 279-280, 312, ii. 23; the importance of, in periodic festivals, i. 329; gifts of, as proposals of marriage, ii. 123-124
Food prohibitions, at initiation, i. 176-177; at certain ages, 179; in general, 186-187; to distinguish clans, ii. 227
Foreigners, the fear of, i. 26-27
Fowls, women forbidden to eat the flesh of, i. 212; the same of boys, ii. 23
France, folklore in, i. 288, ii. 125
—, modern, the kiss in, i. 343, 345
Franconia, folklore in, ii. 201
Fraser's Islanders, the, i. 268, ii. 155
Frazer, *Sir* J. G., on the sacred persons, i. 11; on taboo, 13, 38; on incarnate gods, 20; on the name as a soul, 83; on conduction into the soil by contact, 132; on the external soul, 151; on destroying separable parts of tabooed persons, 171; on seclusion at puberty, 236; on men dressed as women, 250-251; on the influence of taboo on the marriage system, 260*n.*; on mourning as disguise, 317; on puberty ceremonies, 325; on the object thrown at the novice during initiation ceremonies, 326*n.*[1]; on kissing under the mistletoe, 358-359; on certain dances, 369; on guardian spirits, ii. 13*n.*[3], 15; on the religious importance of women's blood, 20; on tree-marriage, 56; on the deferment of consummation, 61; on the exchange of dress, 101-102, 109; tables based on evidence of avoidances gathered by, 163-168, 168*n.*; on the couvade, 180, 180*n.*[3], 182; on indirect female descent, 244; on the division of the tribe, 244-246*n.*[5]
Frazer Island tribes, the, Queensland, ii. 63
Freemasonry, the basis of, i. 307
Frei- and Kelleramt, folklore in the, i. 321
French folklore, i. 370
Freshwater Bay, the natives of, i. 66
Freud, Sigmund, on the author's theory of contact as the basis of human relations, i. 109; on taboo, 109; on the author's theories, ii. 70-71; criticism of his views concerning defloration, 71-76; on the mother-in-law taboo, 159*n.*[5]
Friendship, the transmissible nature of, i. 133-134; exchange in, 288

Fruit, women forbidden to eat certain, i. 211
Fua-Kongo, a secret society, i. 325
Fuegians, the, i. 52, 54, ii. 84
Fulah, the, i. 202
Functional life, man secretive about his, i. 8, 166-167, 215-216
— psychology, theories of, i. 259*n.*[1]
Funerals, beliefs and practices connected with, i. 91, 275, 317, 363-364, 370. *See also* Burial, Mourning

Gaboon, the natives of the, ii. 159
Gades, the temple of Heracles at, i. 59
Gaelic term for family, ii. 227
Galelas, the, i. 111, 252, ii. 19
Gall, the seat of strength, i. 134; sprinkling with, 333
Gallas, the, i. 61, 254
Gambier Islanders, the, i. 26
"Game of Troy, The," i. 369
Gangra, the Council of, ii. 115
Garos, the, i. 146, ii. 97
Gauchos, the, i. 52, 370
Gauls, the, i. 319
Gazelle Peninsula, Melanesia, the natives of the, ii. 167
Genital organs. *See* Sexual organs
Genna, taboo, i. 67
Gennep, A. van, on taboo in Madagascar, i. 64; on the author's theory of circumcision, 171*n.*[4]; on the author's theory of exchange and union, 286*n.*[2]; on the author's theory of the tendency of society, ii. 32; on the author's theory of marriage as an individualistic act, 33*n.*; on tree-marriage, 56; on the deferment of consummation, 62; on the author's theory of marriage by capture, 99; on bridal gifts, 139
γέρανος, crane-dance, i. 369
Germany, ancient, ii. 110
—, folklore of, i. 28, 358, ii. 103, 104, 128, 137, 201
—, South, folklore of, ii. 104
Ghosts, the fear of, i. 132
Gilbert Islanders, the, i. 59
Gillen, F. J. *See* Spencer, *Sir* W. B., *and* F. J. Gillen
Gin, wife, i. 206
Ginger used in forming blood brotherhood, i. 291
Ginn. *See Jinn*
Gins. *See Jinn*
Gippsland tribes, the, Australia, i. 163, 164, 200, 207
Gipsies, the, i. 282
Glenelg tribes, Victoria, i. 230
Goat, killed when a contract is made, i. 290; blood of a, used as a cure, 331; killed at marriage, ii. 140
Goatsucker, the, "belongs" to women, i. 57
Godparents, beliefs connected with, i. 315, ii. 200-201, 229-230
Goethe, J. W. von, his epigram on man's anthropomorphism, i. 92
Gold Coast, the natives of the, i. 25, 370
Gonds, the, i. 101, ii. 129
Gorngai, the, i. 131
Gorong, i. 199
Goyi, Gentile, i. 27
Graeco-Romans, the, i. 340
Gran Chaco, the, i. 36, 78
Granddaughter, man forbidden to marry his, ii. 246
Grandmother, the title of a priest in female attire, i. 251, ii. 110; substituted for the bride, ii. 51; man forbidden to marry his, 246
Great Atlas, the Berbers of the, i. 83
Greece, ancient, beliefs and practices in, i. 58, 126, 144, 289, 319, 338, 343, 346, 348, 349, 353, 359, 368, ii. 38, 50, 54, 93, 127, 133, 260
—, modern, folklore in, i. 232, 238
Greek liturgy, the kiss in the, i. 352
— term for a stranger, i. 27; for an oath, 156; for the kiss, 351, 351*n.*[7]; for the wedding-night, ii. 58
Greenlanders, the, i. 56, 60, 79, 130, 236, 256, 266, ii. 70, 83, 229
Grierson, *Sir* P. J. H., on the treatment of strangers, i. 26*n.*[3]; on artificial brotherhood, 293*n.*[1]
Groby sued for breach of promise, ii. 124
Groomsmen, ii. 48-49, 53-54
Ground, the, believed to be dangerous, i. 132; kissing, 358
Group-marriage, ii. 203, 203*n.*, 250-258
Guadéloupe, i. 77
Gualalas, the, i. 54
Guaranis, the, i. 26, 104
Guardian spirits, ii. 13 *et seq.*
Guatemala Indans, the, ii. 79, 103, 185
Guaycurus, the, i. 78
Guaymis, the, ii. 8
Guest, the obligation to protect the, i. 290
Guiana, the Indians of, i. 16, 23, 27, 28, 37, 62, 97, 103, 132, 148, 178, 201, 205, 255, 343, ii. 40, 164, 179, 196
Guinea, the natives of, i. 368, ii. 233
—, South, the natives of, i. 54

Gujarat, beliefs and practices in, i. 74
Gulf Indians, the, i. 51

Haida, the, ii. 167, 200
Hair, transmission of whooping-cough by means of, i. 140-141; for curing sickness, *etc.*, 141, ii. 149; injuring a person by means of his, i. 161-163, 222-223; in love-charms, 162; sacrifice of the first, 170, ii. 199; sacrifice of, to avert evil, i. 274-275, ii. 49
Half-caste child, beliefs connected with, i. 28
Halidome, the, i. 357
Halifax Bay, Australia, the natives of, i. 232
Halmaharese, the, i. 66, 99, 111, 127-128, 135, 187, 208, 227, 242, ii. 19, 20, 21, 40, 124, 157, 189, 249
Hands, joining of, a marriage rite, ii. 118-119
Handselling, fear of, i. 29-30, 229-230, ii. 18-19
Hannover-Wendland, folklore in, i. 242
Hares, not eaten, i. 125, 136
Harivaṁśa, swearing on the, i. 356
Harta, bride-price, ii. 140
Hartland, E. S., on defloration at puberty, ii. 68; on savage mother-love, 181*n.*[2]; on the tricking of evil spirits, 187-188
Hatam, New Guinea, i. 18
Hatred transmitted by spitting, i. 146
Haut-Vosges, folklore of the, ii. 127
Hawaiians, the, i. 101, 148, 178, 179, 210-211, 363, ii. 197
Head, sacredness of the, i. 45, 137-138, 278, 304, ii. 45
Head-biting, i. 170
Heart, the, believed the seat of the soul, i. 138; of courage, 138, 139
Heat, the part of, in savage thought, i. 236-239, ii. 20
Hebrew term, for a stranger, i. 27; for flesh, ii. 227
Helega, taboo, i. 66, 199, 332, ii. 184
"*Henna* night," the, ii. 100
Henry II of England, i. 350
Hens, forbidden food, i. 209
Hephaestus, i. 309
Hera, i. 320
Heracles, temples of, i. 59; kissing a statue of, 353; the worship of, 353; the festival of, ii. 106; legends of, 109; the priest of, at Cos, 109; and Omphale, 116
Herbert River, Australia, the natives of, i. 246-247
Herero, the, ii. 46, 164
"Hermaphrodite," a boy who plays with a girl, i. 126, 256
Hermes hides Dionysus, i. 320
Herodotus, on the Carians, i. 203; on a class of impotent Scythians, 251
Hervey Islanders, the, i. 59, 209, 263, 364, ii. 105
Hesiod, on using water after a woman, i. 251
Hessen, folklore in, i. 243
Hidatsa, the, i. 69
Hiding, to escape from evil influence, i. 272; at marriage, 41 *et seq.*
Hierapolis, the sacred pigs of, i. 114
Higras, the, i. 251
Hill Dyaks, the, i. 111, 177, 265, 268
Hillmen, the, i. 252
Hind, the sexual modesty of the, i. 218
Hindoo Koosh, the rajah of the, i. 361-362; the natives of the, ii. 91, 129
Hindu term for a stranger, i. 27
Hindus, beliefs and practices of the, i. 49, 58, 80, 124, 167, 183, 193, 204, 321, 323, 356, 363, ii. 40, 50, 57, 128-129, 180, 235
Hippocrates, on a class of impotent Scythians, i. 251
Hiragana and katakana, the female and male characters of the Japanese alphabet, i. 80
Hlanibeesa, washing, ii. 84
Hlonipa system, the, i. 82, ii. 84, 115, 153-154, 195
Hog's flesh, women forbidden to eat, i. 204, 211
Holder, A. B., on men living as women, ii. 113
Holi, the festival of, i. 363
Holica, the goddess, i. 363
Holidays, exchange of dress at, ii. 104
Homagium = *osculum*, i. 353
Homeopathy, the principle of the Zulu method of cure, i. 121, 281
Homer, on the anointment of Demophoon, i. 139; on the transmissible effeminacy of Circe, 251
Honduras Indians, the, ii. 78
Hoolah-boolah ground, the, i. 59
Hooroobeh, el-, the flight, ii. 47
Horse, the, not an unclean animal, i. 144; killed over the grave, 363
Hos, the, i. 334, 363, 365, ii. 88, 133, 167
Hosea on kissing calves, i. 355
Hospitality, the principles of, i. 288-289, 337
Hottentot, the, i. 125, 136, ii. 147, 177
House, fear of a new, i. 29; sexual separation in the, 44 *et seq.*, 263

et seq.; destruction of a dead person's, 131; eating outside the, 184; influence of eating taboos on the, 208 *et seq.*; changed to deceive evil spirits, 272
Hova, the, i. 267, ii. 120, 132, 200, 235
Howitt, A. W., on the mother-in-law taboo in Australia, ii. 155, 161; on totem- and phratry-names, 214; on residence, 233; on the classificatory system, 240; on the division of the tribe, 244*n.*[5]; on group-marriage, 250-251; on the Dieri marriage system, 256
Howling of a new-born child due to evil spirits, i. 31
Hugh, St, i. 350
Huichols, the, i. 70
Huligamma, the goddess, ii. 109
Human relations, the study of, i. 1; chs. iv, v.
— sacrifice, i. 274, 332
Humboldt Bay, the Papuans of, i. 189
Hungarian folklore, i. 74, ii. 104
Hunter, John, on the properties of semen, i. 142-143
Hunter River, S.E. Australia, the natives of the, ii. 164
Hunting, sexual taboo in connection with, i. 65 *et seq.*, 227; the pollution of death as a hindrance in, 130; ill-omens for, 139
Hurons, the, ii. 14
Husband and wife, separation of, i. 2, 44 *et seq.*, 125-126, 199-214, 242, 252-254, 260, 263, ii. 143 *et seq.*, 168 *et seq.*; accused of each other's deaths, ii. 98; the relation of, ch. xv.
Huth, A. H., on incest, ii. 207
Hyæna, eaten to acquire its properties, i. 125, 136
Hylo-idealism of savages, the, i. 171, 221, 239
Hymen, the perforation of the, intended to remove danger resulting from a closure and to remove a taboo organ, i. 168-172; anxiety concerning, 229; at puberty, 230, ii. 18-22, 67-76; removes the danger of hand-selling, i. 230, ii. 18-19; as a marriage ceremony, 66-76
Hysteria attributed to evil spirits, i. 31

Ibirri, the male lizard, i. 56, ii. 224
I-coo-coo-a, a man living as a woman, ii. 109
Icthyosis due to eating forbidden foods, i. 187
Iddahs, the, i. 185
Ideation, the phenomena of, i. 94
Identity, change of, ii. 8, 186
Idiocy attributed to evil spirits, i. 30
Iemzya, wizard, i. 8
ἱερὸς γάμος, the, ii. 261
I-gama, real name, i. 81
Iguana, women and children forbidden to eat, i. 81
I-bloze, the spirit of the father, ii. 141
Ikula, the, ii. 226
Ilavas, the, i. 130
Ilika, a whip associated with magic, i. 154
Ille-et-Vilaine, folklore of, ii. 127
Illinois Indians, the, ii. 108
Images, wax, injury by means of, i. 162
Immaturity of the will a characteristic of savages, i. 176
Impotence, the flesh of enemies eaten to cure, i. 135; fear of, 218
Impotent men treated as women, i. 251-252, ii. 109
Impregnation, not prevented by sub-incision, i. 170
Impurity, the idea of, i. 173
Im Thurn, *Sir* E. F., on the beliefs of the Guiana Indians, i. 16, 23, ii. 179
Inbreeding, ii. 204 *et seq.*
Incantation, i. 178
Incas, the, i. 126, 333
Incest, prevented by sexual taboo, i. 260; and unchastity, 270; discussion of, ii. 205 *et seq.*
Incubi, the belief in, i. 233, ii. 176
India, ancient, beliefs and practices in, i. 197, 204, 338, 348, ii. 37-38, 60
—, Central Provinces, the natives of, i. 274
—, hill-tribes of, ii. 250
—, modern, the natives of, i. 75, 111, 124-125, 193, 250, 363, ii. 60, 101, 109, 139
—, North-West, the Muslims of, ii. 49
—, South, the natives of, i. 251, ii. 103
Indians, American. *See* America, the natives of.
Indies, East, the natives of the, i. 289, 370, ii. 9, 184, 209, 239
—, West, the natives of the, i. 91, ii. 167
Indirect female descent, ii. 244
Individual, the rights of the, clearly defined by the savage, i. 181
Individualism, the tendency from, to socialism, ii. 32
Indo-Chinese peoples, the, i. 289
Indra, i. 235
Infanticide, ii. 203
Infants stolen by a witch, i. 235

Inferiors and superiors, separation of, i. 191-195, 203, 210
"Influence," the significance of the word, i. 123
Ingeltrude, i. 356
Initiation, certain foods prohibited at, i. 176-177, 200; the beard pulled out, 200; sexual intercourse forbidden, 252-253; mutilation at, 253; separation of the sexes at and after, 264 *et seq.*, ii. 4-6; bond of, i. 298; taboo between operator and subject at, 302-303, 312; kissing after, 351*n.*[3]; teachings at, ii. 1 *et seq.*; intended to prepare for contact with the other sex, 17 *et seq.*
Initiative, lack of, a characteristic of early man, i. 41
"Initium consummationis nuptiarum," the kiss as, i. 349
Ino and Athamas hide Dionysus, i. 320
Inoculation, the savage's use of, i. 280-284, ii. 100 *et seq.*; reverse, i. 285
Insects, the antennal play of, i. 338
Insila, i. 121, 305
Instinct against inbreeding, the alleged, ii. 205
Instrumentum pacis, the, i. 358
Insularity, the foundation of, i. 123
Intention, the influence of, i. 122, 133, 137, 153 *et seq.*, 221, 373
Intoxication, attributed to evil spirits, i. 31
Inturkirra, a grass, i. 219
Ipai, a subclass, ii. 244
Ipmunna, a term of relation, ii. 240
Irish folklore, i. 370, ii. 216-218
Iron, the use of, at death, i. 129; transmits strength, 150
Iroquois, the, i. 69, 205, 256, 266, 327, ii. 8
Irwin River, Australia, the natives of, ii. 5
Isaac's death the result of a kiss from God, i. 354
Isiko lobulunga, a charm, i. 141
Islam, in Ceramlaut, i. 9
Israelites. *See* Jews
Issa, the name taken by Achilles, i. 320
Italian folklore, i. 354, ii. 125
Ivory Coast, the natives of the, i. 329
I-wa-musp, man-woman, i. 255, ii. 113

Jacob is kissed, by Esau, i. 346; by Joseph, 350; his death the result of a kiss from God, 354
Jadet, ii. 158, 194
Jaggas, the, i. 261
Jaguar, the shape of the, assumed for vengeance, i. 97
Jaguen, ii. 190
Japan, the Ainu of, i. 24, 79-80
— princes of, prohibited from sexual intercourse, i. 264
Japanese alphabet, male and female characters in the, i. 80; no word for kiss in the, language, 340, 342, 343
— the, ii. 129, 136-137
Javanese, the, i. 48, ii. 48, 64, 249
Jealousy, the savage's possession of, i. 362
Jenner, *Sir* W., i. 280
Jersey, ii. 81
Jesus Christ kissed by Judas, i. 347
Jetté, Father, on the beliefs of the Ten'a, i. 17
Jewish synagogues, the sexes separated in, i. 58
Jews, beliefs and practices of the, i. 58, 65, 171, 343, 344, 353, 354, 355, ii. 51, 65; connected with, i. 125
— of Egypt, ii. 117
— of Loango, the, i. 125, 195
— of Morocco, the, ii. 27
Jhûms, ii. 238
Jiba, ii. 196
Jinn, i. 8, 17, 25
Jivaros, ii. 179
Jnûn. See *Jinn*
Jogleor, a, on couvade, i. 3
Johnston, *Sir* H. H., on the status of women in W. Africa, i. 244
Joining of hands, etc., a marriage rite, ii. 118 *et seq.*
Jones, Peter, on the Ojibways, i. 50
Joogah Pennu, the goddess of smallpox, i. 88
Joseph kisses Jacob, i. 350
Judas kisses Jesus, i. 347
Judas Thomas's Acts quoted, ii. 65-66
Juno, an evil spirit in Australia, i. 93
Jus primae noctis, not to be confused with defloration by proxy, etc., ii. 66, 255; Dr Westermarck on, 251
Justin Martyr on the kiss of peace, i. 351

Ka'ba, kissing the, i. 354
Kadiaks, the, i. 24, ii. 111
Kadli, ii. 190
Kadlingangki, ii. 190
Kadlispinna, ii. 190
Kaffa, the, i. 51
Kaffirs, the, i. 5, 7, 24, 29, 52, 64, 81, 114, 115, 141, 143, 146, 147, 148, 261, 265, 281, 324-325, 333, 361, ii. 6, 12, 21-22, 28, 50, 80, 84, 89, 136, 140-142, 147, 158, 184
—, the Koosa, i. 128, ii. 126, 197

Kabukabu, an evil spirit, i. 12, 90
Kai Papuans, the, i. 34
Kalapa leaf, the, i. 295
— water, i. 138
Kalduke, a person's umbilical cord preserved in a bunch of feathers and employed in *ngia ngiampe*, chs. xi. *et seq.*; the principles of, i. 287, 300 *et seq.*, ii. 139, 173, 192, 228
Kalids, i. 56
Kalmucks, the, ii. 82
Kalou, divinity, i. 22
Kamchadales, the, i. 128, ii. 79, 82, 91
Kamehameha, King, breaks taboo by eating with his wives, i. 213, 286
Kamilaroi, the, i. 138, ii. 25, 164, 226, 244
Kamis, ii. 189
Kamis aema, ii. 189
Kamis djina, ii. 189
Kanaima, one charged with the duty of vengeance, i. 97
Kandyan dynasty, the, i. 124, 193
Kangaroo, male sexual organs of the, eaten to promote desire, i. 223
Kaniagmut, the, i. 201
Kapa-beating, a special house for, i. 44
Karakia, incantation, ii. 144
Karaya, the, i. 79, 190
Karens, the, i. 49, 177, ii. 55, 87, 213
Καρπαία, the, i. 368
Kasendi, blood brotherhood, i. 291
Katakana and hiragana, the male and female characters of the Japanese alphabet, i. 80
Kathiawar, the natives of, ii. 139
Kava, a drink, forbidden to women, i. 208, 210
Kayans, the, i. 207, 291
Kedara Kumbis, the, ii. 57
Kei Islanders, the, i. 66, 99, 118, 222, 227, 272, 295, ii. 62, 130, 158, 189, 201, 238
Kelleramt, folklore in the, i. 321
Kelts, the, i. 319, 340
Keriahs, the, i. 193
Kertameru, ii. 190
Kertanya, ii. 190
Khakyens, the, i. 205, ii. 136
Khamptis, the, i. 293
Khols, the, i. 197
Khonds, the, i. 16, 88, 204, ii. 87
Khuarang, ii. 112
Khumlangba, a god, ii. 110
Khyens, the, ii. 235
Khyoungthas, the, 251-252, 339, ii. 129, 250
Kiabara, the, ii. 244
Kilima, deity, i. 23
King, the sanctity of the, i. 115; polluted by the breath of courtiers, 124; struck with a sacred branch, 126; embraced by one who will bear his sins, 127; begirt with charms on the death of his mother, 129; may not be seen eating, 192-195, 210, 273; not allowed to live with his wife, 29; bull killed on behalf of the, 274, 331; doing as the, does, 360-361; representatives of the, 361; dance of a, 369; bridegroom treated as a, ii. 50
Kingsmill Islanders, i. 292, 322, 365, ii. 48, 130
Kini, a festival, i. 54
Kinship, the weakness of the savage tie of, i. 257, 306, 313
Kiraravu, an exogamous class, ii. 240 *et seq.*
Kirra-urkna, hair-girdle, i. 141
Kisar Islanders, the, i. 34, 72
Kiss, the, a means of contact between friends, i. 108; the link between nutritive and sexual contact, 182; forbidden between first-born son and sister, 263; quarrels settled with, 295; importance of the subject of, 338; nature of, 338-343; history of, 343-349; various uses of, 349-359; at marriage, ii. 120
Kiwai Papuans, the, i. 28
Kluantelus, an evil spirit, i. 234
Klyetnik, the, ii. 54
Knight, M. M., and others, on the author's theory of transmission of properties, i. 224*n.*[1]
Kobroor Islanders, the, i. 34, 132, 234
Kodyaks, the, i. 250
Koita, the, ii. 107
Kola Islanders, the, i. 34, 132, 234
Kolosh, the, i. 148
Koniagas, the, ii. 112
Königsberg, folklore of, ii. 104
Konkan, the natives of the, i. 320-321, 322
Koonkies, the, i. 33, 252
Koos, the, i. 258
Koosa Kaffirs, the, i. 128, ii. 126, 197
Koran, the, i. 150
Koreans, the, i. 49-50, 205, 263, 327-328, ii. 44, 45, 47, 58, 105, 134
Korkus, the, ii. 129
Koryak, the, ii. 82-83, 91, 108, 111
Kos, bridegroom dressed in women's clothes in, i. 3
Kotzebue, O. von, on the Sandwich Islanders, i. 247

Krapf, J. L., on his reception by the Pemba, i. 374
Krause, F., on the women's language, i. 79, 83
Krau-un, the, ii. 221
Krishna, i. 250, ii. 110
Kroatun, a, i. 176
Kronos, the temple of, i. 59
Krumen, the, i. 98, 185, 203, ii. 145
Kubi, a subclass, ii. 244
Kuki-Lushai, the, ii. 238
Kula, a newly circumcised boy, i. 79
Kulin, the, ii. 164, 165, 166, 225
Kumara, a subclass, ii. 247
Kumaun, the natives of, i. 184, 204, iii. 43
Kumbis, the Kedara, ii. 57
Kumbo, a subclass, ii. 244
Kumis, the, i. 290, ii. 57, 77
Kunama, the, i. 53
Kunandaburi, the, ii. 209, 233
Kungwi, ii. 119
Kupathin, an exogamous class, ii. 244
Kura, the, ii. 226
Kurdaitcha, i. 98
Kurds, the, i. 203
Kurnai, the, i. 18, 33, 47, 57, 103, 117-118, 176, 199-200, 207, 261, 335, 364, ii. 3, 5, 16, 69, 78, 94, 155, 164, 198, 212, 221, 225, 226, 252
Kuseie Islanders, the, i. 209
"Küss d'Hand," i. 346
Kutei, the Malays of, i. 66
Kwing Irang, his beliefs, i. 67

Labba, the spotted, ii. 179
Labyrinth, the dance of Theseus in imitation of the, i. 369
Laconia, the temple of Ares in, i. 58
Lagunero, the, ii. 179
Lakor Islanders, the, i. 25, 152, 181, 228, 261, 291, 295, 362, ii. 150, 189, 231, 232, 237
Lamba, ii. 132
Lampongs, the, ii. 27
Lan, magic flies, i. 119
Lane, E. W., on the modern Egyptians, i. 149
Lang, Andrew, on the author's theory of disguise, i. 318*n.*[3]; on the author's view of the improbability of loving one's mother-in-law, ii. 160*n.*[1]
Langsdorf, G. H. von, on the Aleuts, ii. 112
Language, the savage's refinement of, i. 217; connected with the masticatory processes, 341; abusive, at weddings, ii. 80
Language, affected by, man's fear of the unusual, etc., i. 22 *et seq.*; of strangers, i. 27; the belief that emotion is due to external agency, 31; sexual taboo, 77-83; the belief that the passions are due to the state of the stomach, 188; mother-in-law and kindred taboos, ii. 157-158
La Porte, R. de, sues for breach of promise, ii. 127
Lapps, the, i. 24, 118-119, 289, 339
Larkas, the, ii. 93, 129, 236
Latin term, for a stranger, i. 27; for the kiss, 343, 349, 351, 351*n.*[7], 353
Laur, New Ireland, the natives of, i. 217
Laws of Manu, The, i. 77, 204
Lead, red, used in a marriage ceremony, ii. 57
Lebanon, the Druses of the, i. 203
Legal school of anthropology, the, their false interpretation of primitive custom, i. 1, 2, ii. 122
Legba, god of love, i. 31
Leh-tas, the, i. 177, 267
Lemba, marriage ceremony, i. 202
Lengua Indians, the, i. 36
Lepchas, the, ii. 134
Leper's Island, the natives of, ii. 164
Lepheko, a log, ii. 199
Leprosy due to eating forbidden foods, i. 187
Lerotholi, a personal name, i. 81
Lerotholi la metsi, a drop of water, i. 81
Leslie, D., on the Zulu defilement, i. 121
Leti Islanders, the, i. 25, 152, 181, 228, 261, 291, 295, 362, ii. 150, 189, 231, 232, 237
Lévy-Bruhl, L., i. 3*n.*[2]
Lhoosais, the, i. 252
Liberal movement in Judaism, the, i. 58
Life, the new, i. 323 *et seq.*
Lifu Islanders, the, i. 268
Lightning, beliefs connected with, i. 115, 187, 280-281
Lika Mankuas, i. 361
Limbus, the, i. 290
Lingga, i. 243
Lion, eaten to acquire its properties, i. 136; the sacred, of the Kaffirs, 148; precaution before looking at a dead, 281
Lips, mutilation of the, i. 168, 172
Lisiansky, U., on men living as women, ii. 112
Liturgy of Paris, dancing in the, i. 371
Liver, the, believed the seat of the soul, i. 138; of courage, 138

Livingstone, D., on African blood brotherhood, i. 290-291; on names amongst the Bechuana, ii. 190
Lizard, the, believed to have divided the sexes, i. 56, ii. 224; in love-charms, i. 223; connected with various sexual matters, 231-233, 238, ii. 13; eating of, forbidden before puberty, i. 232-233
Loango, the natives of, i. 35, 70, 98, 191, 202, 267, 301, ii. 121, 144, 146
—, the Jews of, i. 125, 195
—, the king of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 194-195
Lobulunga, long hair used in a charm, i. 141
Lolos, the, ii. 91
Lombards, the, i. 356-357
Lombroso, C., on the kiss, i. 341
Lopars, the, i. 322
Louisiana Indians, the, ii. 108
Love, expressed by contact, i. 108; transmitted by contact, 133; by intention, 221; connected with heat, 238; deities of, ii. 260-261
Love-charms, the principle of, i. 122, 133, 155, 221; saliva in, 146, 283; hair and hair-oil in, 162; vessels of medicines as, 164; intention in, 221-223; blood in, 282; bullroarers as, ii. 16; and marriage, 29, 100
Lower Darling tribes, the, Australia, ii. 209
Lower Murray tribes, the, Australia, ii. 209
Loyalty Islanders, the, i. 268
Luang-Sermata Islanders, the, i. 29, 89, 100, 157, 162, 179, 199, 295, ii. 26. 144, 197
Lubbock, *Sir* John. *See* Avebury, Lord
Lucian, on the sacred pigs of Hierapolis, i. 114
Luhtongs, the, ii. 234
Luiseño Indians, the, ii. 6-7
Lukolela, Congo, i. 35
Luli, a deity, ii. 150
Lumholtz, C., on the relative courage of Australian men and women, i. 246-247
Luritcha, the, i. 136
Lushais, the, ii. 111
Luzon, the natives of, i. 98, ii. 62
Lycians, the, i. 318
Lycomedes, Achilles at the court of, i. 319-320
Lydians, the, i. 319
Lykaon, the cave of Rhea on mount, i. 59
Ma, a prefix, ii. 189
Mackenzie Delta, the Eskimo of the, i. 79
McLennan, J. F., on marriage by capture, ii. 97, 99; on exogamy, 218; on descent through the mother, 231; on group-marriage, 250; on the depravity of savage woman, 259-260
Macquarrie, the, i. 253
Macusi, the, i. 205, ii. 60, 179
Madagascar, the natives of, i. 23, 64, 80, 156, 190, 251, 252, 267, 291, 370, ii. 112, 132, 145, 191, 232, 233, 246
— East, the natives of, i. 267
Madamar, ii. 158
Madoerese, the, ii. 63
Mae snake, the, i. 160
Magic, the nature of, i. 3; axe as the cause of disease, 119; flies at the bringers of sickness, 119
Magnetes, the, i. 368
Magyars, the, i. 282
Maharajas, the so-called, i. 251
Mahavo, the, ii. 164
Mahlemut, the, ii. 147
Mahoos, men living as women, ii. 112
Mahwa tree, the, ii. 56
Maiba, men dressed as priestesses, ii. 110
Maibi, priestesses, ii. 110
Mailu, the, i. 76, 363
Maine, *Sir* H. S., on the transition from status to contract, i. 306, 306*n*.
Maisur, the Maharaja of, i. 321
Maka, ii. 191
Make-believe, savages', i. 155, 366, 373, ii. 23, 77 *et seq*.
Makiser Islanders, the, i. 157, 216, 222
Makthar, the real name of a person, i. 163
Makuana, the, ii. 79, 84
Malabar, the natives of, i. 264, ii. 179
Malacca, the natives of, ii. 87, 131
Malagasy, the, i. 23, 64, 80, 156, 190, 251, 252, 267, 291, 370, ii. 112, 132, 145, 191, 232, 233, 246
Malayalam Sudras, the, i. 183
Malays, the, i. 66, 67, 99, 115, 116-117, 138, 150, 156, 161-162, 169, 181, 187, 228, 232, 238, 243, 282, 289, 322, 339, 363, ii. 9, 27, 28, 35, 39, 50, 53, 58, 89, 93, 132, 147, 178, 200, 234, 239
Maldive Islanders, the, i. 205
Malekula Islanders, the, i. 209, 219
Males and females, separation of, i. 2, 25-27, 44 *et seq*., 148, 200-214, 242, 253, 256, 260-270, ii. 4-6, 143 *et seq*., 164-168; the relations of, i. 43; antipathy between, 44; mutually dangerous, 105

Malbletsa a pula, vomiting of rain, i. 81
Malinke, the, i. 17
Malinowski, Bronislaw, on the beliefs of the Melanesians, i. 34, 95; on the natives of Mailu, 76; on the separation of brother and sister, 263; on the educational nature of initiation ceremonies, ii. 2; on marriage ceremonies in Australia, 30, 117-118; on the blood-tie in Australia, 221
Mammæ of boys amputated, i. 254
Man, separation (avoidance, taboo) between a, and, children, i. 204, 205, 208, 210
— his brother, i. 262
— his brother-in-law, ii. 166
— his brother's wife's mother, ii. 166
— his daughter, i. 211, 261, 264, ii. 168
— his eldest sister, i. 263
— his fiancée, i. 2, ii. 25-27
— his granddaughter, ii. 246
— his grandmother, ii. 246
— his niece's son's wife, ii. 165
— his parents, i. 265
— his sister, i. 2, 209, 213, 214, 260-270, 315, ii. 27, 168, 208 *et seq.*
— his sister's daughter, ii. 165
— his sisters other than the eldest, i. 264
— his son, i. 262
— his son's wife, ii. 165
— his wife, i. 2, 44 *et seq.*, 125-126, 199-214, 242, 252-254, 260, 263, ii. 143 *et seq.*, 168, 169 *et seq.*
— his wife's brother's wife, ii. 165
— his wife's father, ii. 155, 166.
— his wife's grandmother, ii. 165
— his wife's mother, i. 3, ii. ch. xv.
— his wife's mother and other female relations, ii. 165
— his wife's mother's sister, ii. 165
— his wife's mother with all the women in her subclass, ii. 165
— his wife's parents, ii. 167
— his wife's parents' maternal uncles, ii. 166
— his wife's relations, ii. 167
— his wife's sister, ii. 165
Mana, its nature and power, i. 115-116, 133, 278, 355
Managulasi Papuans, the, i. 28
Manchurians, the, i. 8, 90, 277, ii. 37, 44, 45
Mandan, the, ii. 164
Mandingo, the, i. 17, 55, 98
Mangaia Islanders, the, i. 363, ii. 130
Mango tree, the, ii. 56
Manicheans, the, i. 142
Manipur, the Nāgas of, i. 67; the iron-workers of, ii. 109-110
Manitoos, ii. 14, 108
Mantis, the, "belongs" to men, i. 57
Manu, The Laws of, i. 77, 204
Manuahiki Islanders, the, ii. 130
Maoris, the, i. 12, 18, 20, 22, 27, 30, 45, 66, 76, 90, 104, 111, 114, 120, 138, 144, 177, 183, 184, 188, 191, 199, 242, 277, 278, 279, 300, 304, 339, 373, 374, ii. 41, 94, 144, 172, 176, 184, 225-226
Marea, reception-house, i. 47
Marett, R. R., on preanimism, i. 26; on the author's theory of the transmission of properties, 248-249; on ceremonial passage, ii. 78
Marianne Islanders, the, ii. 175
Marquesas Islanders, the, i. 7, 44, 45, 59, 63, 210, 247, 312
Marriage, to trees, i. 3, ii. 55-58; as a civil act, i. 6, ii. 58; evil spirits at, i. 7-9; witchcraft at, 8; sexual taboo in, 77; an ox consecrated for the woman's protection, 141; the rights of the individual in, clearly defined by the savage, 181; fasting before, 204; fear of impotence in, 218; preparation for, 304; the influence of *ngia ngiampe* on, 315; made at dances, 337; by proxy, ii. 54-58; an individual act, 259; deities of, 260-261
— by capture, i. 3; the alleged cause of the women's language, 78; not the explanation of the *caelibaris hasta*, ii. 38; various marriage ceremonies misinterpreted as, 76-95; criticism of, 95-100; the mother-in-law taboo and, 160
— by purchase, ii. 138 *et seq.*
— ceremony, the, essentially a religious act, i. 6; fear of evil influences at, 7-8; magic in, 87*n.*; confession of sins at, 202, 301; use of the bullroarer as a, ii. 16-17; puberty ceremony as a, 25; survey and discussion, ch. xiv.
— class, sexual eating taboos within the, i. 214
— group, ii. 68
— system, produced by sexual taboo, i. 260; produced by sexual taboo between brothers and sisters, 270, ii. ch. xvii.
— within the totem-clan, the result of, i. 177-178
Mars, the god, i. 367
Marshall Islanders, the, i. 59
Marten-hunt, continence before a, i. 69

Martial dialect of the Caribs, the, i. 78
Martial, on the kisses of clients, i. 348
Martin, St, the kiss of, i. 358
Martinique, the natives of, ii. 179
Martius, C. F. D. von, on the women's language in South America, i. 78-79
Márú, bad, i. 322
Maryborough, Queensland, the natives of, i. 63, ii. 164
Mary River, Australia, the natives of, i. 147, 162, 188, ii. 155
Masai, the, i. 23, 131, 146, 293, 319, 331, ii. 11, 22, 69, 115-116, 164
Masks, the use of, i. 317
Masticatory processes, language and the, i. 341
Masturbation, the cause of men dressing as women, i. 256
Matabele, the, ii. 39, 164, 165
Matagati, ii. 196
Materialistic nature of primitive thought, the, i. 88, 151
Maternal kiss, the, i. 340, 342
Matriarchal theory, the, ii. 230-232
Matrimus, one whose mother lives, i. 132-133
Matthurie, an exogamous class, ii. 240 *et seq.*
Matuana, i. 134
Mauat, the natives of, i. 265
Mausolus and Artemisia, i. 365
Mayas, the, ii. 64, 191, 226
Mecca, the Arabs of, i. 58; continence during the pilgrimage to, 228
Mecklenburg, folklore in, i. 243, 256
Medes, the, i. 346
Meh, me, ii. 148
Melanesians, the, i. 34, 48, 115, 133, 161, 208, 262, 274, ii. 43, 121-122, 181, 213*n.*
—, Central, the, ii. 164
—, North, the, ii. 166, 167
—, South, the, ii. 164, 165, 166
Meli, Efate, the natives of, i. 209
Melville, Herman, on the Marquesas Islanders, i. 247
Memory-image, the role of the, i. 94, 308
Men dressed as women, i. 250-252, 318 *et seq.*, ii. 19 *et seq.*
Menangkabauers, the, ii. 27
Menopause, the, ii. 114-115
Menstrual blood, menstruation, the result of a wound caused by evil spirits, i. 11-12, 16, 231-232, 233; feared, 12, 90; taboo of women at, 76-77, 148, 199, 200, 252; germs of a human being in the, 90; used in medicine and as a love charm, 143; ignorance of, 230; associated with defloration, 230; caused by supernatural animals, 231-232; connected with the moon, 236-237; sexual intercourse forbidden at, 239; connected with transmission of properties, 239; regarded as weakening, 246; veils worn at, 273
Mentawey Islanders, i. 208, 282, 289
Meorisot, Monin, the widow of, sued for breach of promise, ii. 127
Metlakahtlan, the, ii. 6
Mexico, ancient, beliefs and practices in, i. 70, 205
—, modern, the natives of, i. 371, ii. 112
Mezeyne, the, ii. 86
Mezūzāh, kissing the, i. 355
Mia, mother, ii. 251.
"*Mia, mia! babini mariki*," "No, no, the women are afraid," i. 247
Miaos, the, ii. 78, 179, 185, 235
Micronesia, beliefs and practices in, i. 79
Mikado, the, his sanctity, i. 145; the consequence of eating his food, 193; his method of preserving peace, 332
Milk, transmission of properties by means of, i. 146-147; purification by drinking, 333; drinking, at marriage, ii. 126; mother's, 144
— kinship, ii. 228
Milya-uppa, the, i. 375
Minahassa, the, ii. 140
Mindanao, the, ii. 131
Minnetaree, the, ii. 164
Minotaur, the, i. 369
Miriam's death the result of a kiss from God, i. 354
Miris, the, i. 54, 242, ii. 179
Mistletoe, kissing under the, i. 358-359
Mithraic *taurobolium*, the, i. 331
Mlenchla, i. 27
Moa Islanders, the, i. 25, 152, 181, 228, 261, 291, 295, 362, ii. 150, 189, 231, 232, 237
Moánus, the, i. 66
Mock bride, the, ii. 51
Modesty of women, i. 173, 217-218, 225, 246-248, ii. 41, 77 *et seq.*
Mohbor, pity, ii. 148
Mohbor-meh, the ceremony of, ii. 148-149, 187
Mois, the, i. 183
Moksha, the, ii. 51
Moluccas, the natives of the, i. 34, 301
Monbuttu, the, i. 23
—, the king of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 195
Monday, Easter, betrothal on, ii. 124

Monday, Shrove, exchange of clothes on, i. 321
Money exchanged in forming artificial brotherhood, i. 290
Mongoli, evil spirits, ii. 106
Mongols, the, i. 289, 339
Monica, St, her death the result of a kiss from a child, i. 354
Monistic nature of primitive society, i. 5
Montezuma, might not be seen eating, i. 193-194
Mookoo, bone, i. 101
Mookoo elieduckuna, the belief that death is caused by an evil person, i. 101
Moon, the, a male spirit, i. 56, 236, 237; impregnates women, 236; connected with female periodicity, 236-237
Moostabbill, ii. 145
Morality, the, of savages, i. 176
Mordvins, the, ii. 36
Morgan, L. H., on group-marriage, ii. 250
Morocco, the Jews of, ii. 27
—, the natives of, i. 25, 64, 125, 136, 349, 368, ii. 35, 41, 42-43, 45, 58-59, 95, 99, 100, 117, 132, 134
—, South, the natives of, ii. 132
Morong, bachelor-house, ii. 258-259
Moses's death the result of a kiss from God, i. 354
Mosquitos, the, ii. 79
Mo-tee, of descent from the mother's side, ii. 213*n*.
Mother, body transmitted by the, i. 229; has the care of daughters, 261
— and son, separation of, i. 205, 209, 210, 242, 261, 262, 263, ii. 168
Mother Earth, i. 236, ii. 31, 31*n*.[4]
Mother-in-law, a man and his, separation of, i. 3; taboos and other beliefs and practices in connection with, ii. ch. xv.
Motu, the, i. 66, 137, 199, 332, ii. 136
Mount Murray, Papua, i. 28
— Wa, ii. 91
Mourning, beliefs and practices connected with, i. 114, 132, 199, 273, 317, 363-364, 373, ii. 107. *See also* Burial, Funerals.
Mouth, mutilation of the, i. 168, kissing on the, 340 *et seq.*
"Mouth-opener," the, i. 169
Mowat, New Guinea, i. 140
Mpongwe, the, i. 55
Muane riesre, go-betweens, ii. 150
Muhammad, ii. 228
Mukasa, ii. 109
Mukjarawaint, the, ii. 225
Mulgrave Islanders, the, i. 196-197
Müller, C. O., on the alleged marriage by capture of Sparta, ii. 82
Mumb-Jumbo, ii. 55
"Mummy" used to transmit strength, i. 142
Munda Kol, the, ii. 56
Mundaris, the, i. 362
Mundas, the, ii. 55-56, 91
Mundurucus, the, ii. 179, 181
Mura, taboo, ii. 159
Murauma, ii. 17
Murchison River, Australia, the natives of, ii. 5
Murdee, taste, ii. 227
Murder, incited by evil spirits, i. 30; disguise before, 317
Murderers, considered "unclean," i. 114; relation between, and family of victim, 296
Muri, a subclass, ii. 244
Murray River, Central Australia, the natives of, i. 102, 303, 335
Murring, the, i. 5, 8, ii. 225
Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin, carvings in the, i. 231
Muslims, beliefs and practices of, i. 9, 125, 166, 228, 264, 354, 357, ii. 22, 65
— of N.W. India, the, ii. 49
Mussorongo, the, ii. 9
Mutilation, the meaning of, i. 168, 274, ii. 9
Mykonas, Poseidon's cult at, i. 59

Nāgas, Angami, the, i. 355
— of Manipur, the, i. 67
Nahak, the refuse of a person's food or anything that has been in contact with him, i. 159-160, 188-189
Nahanarvals, the, ii. 110
Nahuas, the, ii. 64, 78
Nail parings, injuring a person by means of his, i. 161
Nairs, the, i. 264
Name, the, affected by sexual taboo, i. 77-83; a part of the man, 150; injuring a person by means of his, 164-165; diffidence about revealing, 165; exchange of, to effect union, 292; change of, a mode of disguise, 320 *et seq.*; new, at puberty, ii. 8; -taboo and the mother-in-law, 157-158; teknonymy and other beliefs connected with, 188 *et seq.*; kinship by, 230
Namim, ceremonial uncleanness, i. 120
Nanbúri caste, the, i. 264
Nandi, the, i. 319, ii. 9

Nanga, a celebration, i. 335
Narak, equivalent to ngadhungi, i. 219, 221
Narrinyeri, the, i. 75, 158-159, 200, 287, 313, 314, 315, ii. 8, 21, 227-228
Nassau Islanders, the, i. 189
Natal, the Kaffirs of, i. 24, 265
Natchez, the, i. 206
Nathú, "having a nose-ring in his nose," or "nostril," i. 322, 323
Natural, the, and supernatural, i. 4, 19
Natural features inhabited by spirits, i. 18
Naudowessies, the, i. 325, ii. 108
Naukratis, the Prytaneum at, i. 59
Navajos, the, i. 37, 91, 128, 130, 277, ii. 132
Navel-string, beliefs connected with the, i. 151-152; called the brother of the child, 152
Nayars, the, ii. 58
Nazar, i. 321
Nda, a secret association, i. 54
Ndria manitra, god, i. 23
Negrillos, the, i. 70
Nemesis, ii. 93
Nedjea, the Arabs of the, i. 299
Nepal, the natives of, ii. 235
Neumark, folklore in the, i. 243
Neurasthenic obsession for eating alone, i 190
Neuropaths honoured, i. 25
Neurosis attributed to evil spirits, i. 31; contact in, 109
New, fear inspired by the, i. 26-27
New, C., on his reception by war-dances, i. 374
New Britain, the natives of, i. 47, 59, 161, 177, 231, 282, 304, 372, ii. 5, 45-46, 97, 213*n*., 233, 237
New Caledonians, the, i. 46, 63, 134, 209, 263-264, 275, 317, ii. 151, 175, 178-179
Newcastle tribe, the, Australia, ii. 26
New Guinea, the natives of, i. 9, 19, 28, 34, 47, 60, 66, 76, 101, 148, 185, 189, 199, 207, 216, 231, 232, 247, 292, ii. 26-27, 60, 79, 130, 146, 164
— — and Celebes, the natives of the archipelago between, i. 362
— —, South-East, the natives of, i. 66, ii, 165, 166
New Hebrideans, the, i. 46, 91, 112, 120, 160, 175, 192, 208, 243, 277, ii. 5, 8, 115, 139, 195, 226
— —, North, ii. 10
New Ireland, the natives of, i. 60, 75, 217, ii. 5
New life, the, i. 323 *et seq.*, ii. 15
New Mexico, the natives of, i. 69, 130
New moon ceremonies, i. 327
New South Wales, the natives of, i. 47, 57, 177, 268, 297, 301, 335, ii. 3-4, 5, 8, 13, 18, 153, 224
New year ceremonies, i. 326-328
New Zealand, the natives of, i. 7, 34, 65, 115, 138, 191, 196, 198, 210, 270, ii. 86
Ngadhungi, the method of affecting a man through a detachable part of himself or through a thing that has been in contact with him, i. 153, 156 *et seq.*, 198, 218, 221, 223, 276, 283, 286, 300
Ngăi, deity, i. 23
Ngaitye, totems, ii. 227
Ngane, "one who shuns the others" (said of brothers), i. 262
Nganga, medicine-man, ii. 110
Ngangki, female, ii. 190
Ngarigo, the, ii. 164
Ngente, the, ii. 105
Ngia ngiampe, the relation of two persons whose *kaldukes* have been exchanged, chs. xi, xii; the principles of, i. 287, 300 *et seq.*, ii. 34, 117, 133 *et seq.*, 142, 150 *et seq.*
Ngununguput, the bat, i. 56, ii. 224
Nguria, the, i. 280
Niam-Niam, the, i. 191, 203, 265, ii. 132
— the king of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 194
Nias, the natives of, ii. 8, 26, 38, 131, 249
—, North, the natives of, ii. 120
—, South, the natives of, i. 267
Nicaragua, the Indians of, i. 62
Nickol Bay, Australia, the natives of, i. 93, ii. 26
Nicobarese, the, ii. 179
Nietzsche's view of women, i. 245
Niewenhuis, A. W., on fear of feminine contagion in Borneo, i. 67
Niger, the King of Onitsha on the, i. 369
Night, marriage celebrated at, ii. 41
Nightjar, the, a female sex-totem, i. 56, ii. 224, 225
Nishinams, the, i. 82
Nizhegorod, folklore at, ii. 36
N'Kimba, a secret society, i. 325
Noa, common, i. 14, 22, 27, 213, 278
Nobatagati, ii. 196
Noessa Laut, the natives of, i. 67
Noid, shaman, i. 119
Nootkas, the, i. 68, ii. 64
Nose, mutilation of the, i. 168, 172

Nose-rubbing, a means of contact between friends, i. 108, 292; a savage mode of greeting, 289, 339-340
Nowillie, the relationship of, ii. 159
Nubians, the, i. 52, 144, 191, 197
Nufoers, the, i. 60, ii. 46, 63
Nuthie, elder brothers, ii. 256, 257
Nutritive functions, the, disgust in connection with, i. 172
Nuts in the Roman wedding, ii. 39
Nukuhiva Islanders, the, i. 45, 210, ii. 237
Nupa, the relation of, ii. 252 *et seq.*
Nya, ceremonial uncleanness, i. 89, 120
Nyasaland, North, i. 81
Nyrop, C., on the kiss, i. 340
νυξ μυστική, ii. 58

Oath, drinking the, i. 294; by kissing, 356-357
Oaths and ordeals, the principle of, i. 156-157
Objective and subjective reality, i. 4
Obscenity, not a savage characteristic, i. 217
Obsession, the psychology of, i. 94; for eating alone, 190
Occupation, sexual taboo and separation in, i. 61 *et seq.*
Oceania, the peoples of, i. 292
Ochre in initiation ceremonies, i. 303; in illness, 303, 304; at marriage, ii. 101
Odysseus penetrates the disguise of Achilles, i. 319-320; kissed on his return, 346
Oil, used in love-charms, i. 162; purification with, 333
Ojibway Indians, the, i. 50
Oka-Jiba, ii. 196
Okies, i. 14
Okinchalanina, necklets, i. 223
Old and young, separation of, i. 191-192
— men, the power of, i. 180; treated as women, 255, 256
Olfactory kiss, the, i. 339-340
Omaha, the, i. 126, 256, 266, ii. 151, 155, 158, 165, 167, 234
Omeo, the, i. 187
Omka ninazala, "you will bear children to your father-in-law," i. 121, 305
Omphale, Hercules and, ii. 116
Onas, the, i. 52
Ondonga, the, ii. 112
Onitsha, the king of, the dance of, i. 369
Ophthalmia, the danger of proximity to, i. 120; caused by departure from custom, 179
Opossum, female, prohibited at initiation, i. 176-177; to boys, 207; male sexual organ eaten to promote desire, 223; eaten at marriage, ii. 126
Oputiana, evil spirits, i. 99
Orang Benuas, the, ii. 30-31, 87
— Laut, the, i. 208
— Mantra, the, ii. 131
— Sakai, the, ii. 132
Oraons, the, i. 293, ii. 91
Ordeals, the principle of, i. 156-157; at marriage, ii. 40
Orinoco Indians, the, i. 62
Orissa, the natives of, i. 16
Ὅρκος, i. 357
Orlu, a spirit, i. 29
Ornament, the idea of, in mutilation, i. 169
Oro, a man's association amongst the Yoruba, i. 55
Oro and Tane, the institutes of, in Polynesia, i. 211
Oruzo, marriage division, ii. 227
Oschopheria, the, ii. 106
Osclare = *dotare*, i. 349
Oscle, i. 349-350
Osclum. See *Osculum*
Osculata pax, i. 349
Osculatorium, the, i. 358
Osculum, a kiss, i. 343
Osculum = *homagium*, i. 353
Osculum interveniens, i. 349
Osculum pacis, i. 351*n.*[7]
Osculum sanctum, i. 351*n.*[7]
Ostyaks, the, i. 24, 50, 67
Otkons, ii. 14
Oudh, the natives of, i. 321, 322
Ourali, a poison, i. 62, 97
Ovaherero, the, i. 73, 143
Owl, the Fern, "belongs" to women, i. 57, ii. 224
Ox, an, struck by lightning must be eaten, i. 281
Oxus valley, the tribes of the, i. 201

Pa, a prefix, ii. 189
Pa-Belal, ii. 190
Pactum, synonymous with *osculum*, i. 349
Pahrias, the, i. 193
Pab-tee, of descent from the father's side, ii. 213*n.*
Pain believed due to evil spirits, i. 30-31; the contagious nature of, 126
Pa-Jaguen, ii. 190
Palâls, the, i. 09
Palembang, the natives of, ii. 131
Palestine, the natives of, i. 346-347
Palm-branch, as a taboo-mark, i. 178
Pamali, taboo, ii. 147

Panama, the Indians of, i. 8
Pane, Roman, on a practice in the West Indies, i. 91
Panis farreus, ii. 127
Panunga, a subclass, ii. 247
Papua, the natives of, i. 9, 19, 28, 34, 47, 60, 66, 76, 101, 148, 185, 189, 199, 207, 216, 231, 232, 247, 292, ii. 26-27, 60, 79, 130, 146, 164, 178-179
— and Celebes, the natives of the archipelago between, i. 362
—, South-East, the natives of, i. 66, ii. 165, 166
Para, dross, i. 114
Paradise, no place for women in, i. 58
Paraguayan Chaco, the natives of the, i. 36
Parapara, a sacred place, etc., i. 114
Parare, food, i. 114
Parents, separation of a man and his, i. 265; and children, the relations of, ii. ch. xvi.
Parkman, Francis, on the American guardian spirits, ii. 13-15
Part, sacrifice of a, to preserve the whole, i., 274-275, ii. 9, 20
Passés, the, ii. 179
Passions, due to evil spirits, i. 30-31; to the state of the stomach, 188
Pasteur, Louis, i. 280
Patagonians, the, i. 25, 250, 261, 294, 304, ii. 108, 109, 136, 189
Pātidārs, the, ii. 57
Patriarchal theory, the, ii. 230
Patrimus, one whose father lives, i. 132-133
Patwins, the, i. 54
Paul, St, his "holy kiss," i. 344; kissed by the disciples, 350
Paumotu, the natives of, i. 209
Pawnee, the, ii. 132
Pax, i. 351*n.*[7], 352
— -board, or -brede, the, i. 358
Payne, E. J., on language and the masticatory processes, i. 341; on men living as women, ii. 113
Peace-making ceremonies, i. 294, 296, ii. 139
Peaiman, medicine-man, i. 16, 28, 98
Peking, marriage preliminaries in, ii. 37
Pela, a peace-making ceremony, i. 296, 304, 314, ii. 150, 212
Peleus and Thetis seclude Achilles, i. 319-320
Pelew Islanders, i. 48, 56, 80, ii. 108
Pemâli, taboo, i. 22
Pemba, the, i. 374
Pem-ya, a curfew law, i. 49
Penis, worn to acquire strength, i. 140; secrecy with regard to, 219; origin of fire attributed to a, 238
— -envy, ii. 74-76
Perak, the natives of, ii. 132, 195
Persians, the, i. 29, ii. 42, 55, 62
—, ancient, the, i. 346
Personality, change of, i. 323 *et seq.*, ii. 8
Personification, the psychology of, i. 94
Peru, ancient, i. 326
Peter, St, his "kiss of charity," i. 344; the toe of his statue kissed, 354; the day of, favourite for betrothals, ii. 138
Phallic towers, i. 232
Pharisees, the, i. 348
Φίλημα ἀγάπης, i. 351*n.*[7]
— *ἅγιον*, i. 351*n.*[7]
Φιλία, the, of Empedocles, i. 108
Philippine Islanders, the, i. 31, 73, ii. 69-70, 185, 260
Philo on the "kiss of harmony," i. 352
Phokis, the temple of Heracles in, i. 59
Phratries, the institution of, ii. 213 *et seq.*
Physiological, thought, i. 21, 166, ii. 61; basis of the kiss, i. 340
"Pietatis et caritatis pignus," the kiss as, i. 351
Pigeons, the cataglottism of, i. 338
Pigs, their shapes taken by evil men, i. 101; the sacred, of Hierapolis, 114; the fat of, produces strength, 138-139; killed at childbirth, 208; women forbidden to eat, 210, 212; taboo transferred to, 279; used as payment of a fine, 294. *See also* Hog, Sow
Pinya, the armed band of the Dieri, i. 135
Piojes, the, ii. 178
Piraungaru, the relation of, ii. 253 *et seq.*
Pirauru, the relation of, ii. 253 *et seq.*
Pisang, boys forbidden to eat, ii. 23
Pitta-pitta dialect, the, i. 342
Placenta, beliefs connected with the, i. 151-152, 320, ii. 106; called the sister of the child, i. 152
Plato on the origin of man and of love, i. 309-311
Pliny, on the use, of hair, i. 141; of the first tooth shed by a child, 142; of menstrual blood, 143; of the scrapings of athletes, 144; on the kiss, 352
Ploss, H. H., *and* M. Bartels, on certain sexual carvings, i. 231

Plutarch on mourning, i. 318-319; on turning right and left during worship, 353; on the consummation of marriage after dark, ii. 41; on bridegrooms in women's dress, 116
Poggy Islands. *See* Nassau Islands
Poison, precautions against, i. 185
"Poisoned" by a book, to be, the significance of the expression, i. 123
Poland, folklore of, ii. 51
Political taboo, i. 13
Pollo, initiation ceremony, ii. 23-24
Pollock, *Sir* F., on the alleged transition from status to contract, i. 306*n*.
Polonia, folklore in, ii. 51
Polynesia, the natives of, i. 13, 114, 176, 190, 289, 360
—, Western, the natives of, i. 26
Polynesian system of taboo, the, i. 11, 13, 14, 65, 177
Pomali, the custom of, i. 178
Pomo Indians, the, i. 54, 98, 255
Ponape islanders, the, i. 209
Pongo, chief not allowed to be seen eating, i. 195
—, the, i. 195
Ponka, the, ii. 164, 167
Pontianak, a witch, i. 9, 99, 235
Pontif ex Maximus, the, ii. 127
Pope, kissing the foot of the, i. 348
Portland Inlet, British Columbia, the natives of, i. 68
Portland tribes, Victoria, i. 230
Port Lincoln, South Australia, the natives of, i. 56, 207, ii. 8, 209, 224
Port Moresby, the natives of, ii. 46
Port Patteson, the natives of, ii. 164, 165, 166
Portuguese folklore, i. 231
Poseidon's cult at Mykonas, i. 59
Possession by spirits, i. 93
Potsdam, folklore near, i. 214
Powell's Creek, South Australia, the natives of, i. 102, ii. 236
Prah En, Indra, i. 235
Prayer, before sexual intercourse, i. 166; before eating, 183
Pregnancy, a woman in, believed to be dangerous, i. 40, 71-72, 89, 199, 256-258; fear of the husband during, 99, 242; caused by evil spirits, 234; caused by sun, 236; caused by moon, 236; sexual intercourse forbidden during, 239; veil worn during, 273
Prejudice, the foundation of, i. 123
Presents exchanged, to form union, i. 293; to remove taboo, 302, 312; at a funeral feast, 363; at marriage, ii. 136 *et seq.*
Presents given to a newcomer, i. 374
Priests, eating taboos in connection with, 192-195; women as, 250-251; taboo transferred to, 279; new names taken by, 323; defloration by, ii. 70; in women's dress, 107-109
Primogeniture, ii. 199
Promiscuity, prevented by sexual taboo, i. 260, 269; not implied by exchange of wives, 335; not implied by Saturnalia, 362-364; ii. ch. xvii.
Property, the destruction of a dead person's, i. 130-131; the rights of, clearly defined by the savage, 181
Propitiation and purification, i. 10
Proxies, used to divert evil, i. 274
Prytaneum, the, at Naukratis, i. 59
Psychoanalysis criticised, ii. 70-76
Psychology, its importance to ethnology, i. 107
Puata riesre, go-betweens, ii. 150
Puberty, evil spirits feared at, i. 75; fat rubbed into a boy at, 139, 200; teeth mutilated at, 169; head-biting performed at, 170; the object of ceremonies at, 170; food taboos at, 199-200; hymen ruptured at, 230, ii. 18-22, 67-76; girls at, commune with gods, i. 235; seclusion at, 235, 236, ii. 9, 22; parents not allowed to see children after, i. 263; separation of the sexes at and after, 264 *et seq.*, ii. 4-6; taboo between operator and subject at, i. 302-303, 312; new name received at, 323; initiation at, 325; education at, ii. 1 *et seq.*; fasting at, 11-12; ceremony as marriage rite, 25; tattooing at, 40
Pueblo Indians, the, i. 76
Puliliwuma, spittle-throwing, i. 154
Pululaa, Solomon Islands, i. 160
Punans, the, i. 207
Punjab, the natives of the, i. 322, ii. 57, 80, 91
Puppets, used to mislead evil spirits, i. 273
"Purchase-money," ii. 137 *et seq.*
Purification, and propitiation, i. 10; ceremonies, 126; after sexual intercourse, 239; at marriage, ii. 39
Puris, the, ii. 178
Purro, a men's association, i. 55
Purula, a subclass, ii. 247
Puttooas, the, ii. 118
Pyrrha, the name taken by Achilles, i. 320

Pythagoreans, the taboo against beans of the, i. 140

Queensland, the natives of, i. 63, 145, 157, 200, 207, ii. 63
—, North, the natives of, i. 342
—, North-West, the natives of, ii. 164

Ra, sacred, i. 213
Rabinnical tradition, the snake in, i. 232; kissing in, 344, 346, 354
Rahajana, ii. 189
Rahajana rile, ii. 189
Rahajana umlee, ii. 189
Raini Mahay, ii. 191
Raini Maka, ii. 191
Raini Soa, ii. 191
Rain-making, i. 368, ii. 102
Raja sari, "the sovereigns of a day," the bridal pair so-called, ii. 50
Rajmahal, the natives of, i. 49, 60, 204
Ram, the sexual organs of, eaten to cure illness, i. 228
Rambree Islanders, the, i. 250
Ramoi, i. 27
Ranau, the, ii. 131
Rani jaza, father of a child, ii. 200
Rao, the natives of, ii. 131
Rapa Islanders, the, i. 45
Rarotonga Islanders, the, i. 209
Ravnoru kida, the name of an oath, i. 292
Réa, a god, i. 235
Reade, W. W., on the King of Canna, i. 195; on the African's horror of kissing, 342
Realism in primitive logic, i. 4
Re-birth, the belief in, i. 329
Red, the colour of life, ii. 19
— clay used in charms, i. 158; purification with, 333
— lead used in a marriage ceremony, ii. 57
— ochre used in initiation ceremonies, i. 303; in illness, 303-304; at marriage, ii. 101
Reinach, Solomon, on the author's theory of the transmission of properties, i. 224-226; on the author's alleged neglect of M. Durkheim's theories, 257*n*.
Reindeer killed over the grave, i. 363
Rejangs, the, i. 337
Relation and relationship, ii. 203 *et seq.*; terms of, 220 *et seq.*, 240 *et seq.*
Religious, the, and the unscientific, i. 3; and the political, 5; taboo, 13; character of human relations, 106, ii. 260, and *passim*
Réni Soa, ii. 191
Residence with the wife's people, ii. 98, 185 *et seq.*, 232 *et seq.*
Responsibility, incapacity for, a characteristic of early man, i. 41
Rhea, the cave of, i. 59
Rheumatism, cure for, i. 144
Rice, paste in forming artificial brotherhood, i. 290; the throwing of, at marriage, ii. 38
Richard I, i. 350
Ridjala-sampoe, the rite of, ii. 90
Riedel, J. G. F., on functional secrecy in Ceram, i. 216
Rights of the individual, the, clearly defined by the savage, i. 181
Rings, the use of betrothal and wedding, ii. 119, 137
Ritual, the development of, i. 10
Rivers, W. H. R., on the argument of the present book, i. 40; on the author's theory of the separation of brothers and sisters, 269*n*.[5]
Rives, folklore at, ii. 138
Rodiya ("filth") caste, i. 124, 125, 193
Rolf the Ganger, i. 353-354
Roman Catholic churches, the sexes separated in, i. 58; the gesture of benediction in the, 116; the kiss in, 345, 351, 352, 354, 358
Romang Islanders, the, i. 208, ii. 133
Romans, ancient, beliefs and practices of the, i. 9, 55, 132, 273, 334, 343, 348, 349, 353, 359, 367, 369, ii. 38, 39, 41, 52, 53, 82, 106, 119, 127, 133, 260
Roondah, taboo, i. 186
Roro, the, ii. 79
Roth, Ling, on the couvade, ii. 181
Rotti Islanders, the, i. 171, 199
Rotumah Islanders, the, i. 210
Royalty, the bridal pair treated as, ii. 50
"Rubbing noses," a means of contact between friends, i. 108, 292; a savage mode of greeting, 289, 339-340
Rudimentary, the use of the term, ii. 253-254
Rumania, exogamy in, ii. 204-205
Rurutua Islanders, the, i. 210
Russia, folklore of, i. 8, 184, ii. 44, 54, 128
—, White, folklore of, ii. 54

Sacae, the, ii. 81-82
Sacs, the, ii. 111
St. Vitus's dance, sorcerers chosen from children who have, i. 250, ii. 108
Sakais, the, ii. 69
Sakalavas, the, ii. 40
Salic law, ii. 232

Salii, the dancing-priests or, i. 367
Saliva, transmission of properties by means of, i. 146, 154; injury by means of, 162
Salt, as a "mouth-opener," i. 169; blood a substitute for, 258
Salutatio, i. 351*n.*[7]
Salvador Indians, the, ii. 78
Sambigi Papuans, the, i. 28
Samoans, the, i. 27, 63, 111, 115, 129, 196, 261, ii. 124, 146, 175-176, 237
Samoyeds, the, i. 24, 50, 60, 100, 204, 236, 363, ii. 82, 145, 146
Samuel kisses Saul, i. 347
Sandala caste, the, i. 125, 193
Sandwich Islanders, the, i. 29, 44, 59, 126, 192, 210-213, 247, 262, 270, 289, 339
San Salvador, the natives of, i. 27
Santa Cruz, the natives of, i. 247
Santals, the, i. 193, 204, 267, ii. 41, 250
Sapialeh, ii. 194
Sapialeh-Taleamie-amay, ii. 194
Sapialeh - Taleamie-Karapupuleh-amay, ii. 194
Sarae, the, ii. 132, 154, 234
Sarawak, the natives of, i. 243, ii. 147
—, the Rajah of, ii. 190
Sardanapalus, ii. 109
Saturn, the worship of, i. 353
Saul is kissed by Samuel, i. 347
Savage Islanders, the, i. 26
Savium or *suavium*, the kiss of lovers, i. 343
Savoy, folklore of the, ii. 138
Sawu Islanders, the, ii. 131
Saxons of Transylvania, the, ii. 51, 92, 94
Saxony, Lower, folklore in, i. 243
Scandinavian folklore, ii. 128
Scarification, the meaning of, i. 168; at initiation, 253
Scarves exchanged in forming artificial brotherhood, i. 290
Schingú Indians, the, i. 51
Schroeder, L. von, on the bride in male dress, ii. 117
Schupans, the Aleut, ii. 112
Scorpion, ancient Greek cure for a sting from a, i. 126; contributed to the fear of the ground, 132; ancient Arab cure for a sting from a, ii. 103
Scotland, folklore in, i. 129, 140, 243
Scyros, Achilles at, i. 318*n.*[3], 319-320
Scythians, the ancient, i. 251, ii. 113
Sea Dyaks, the, i. 250
Seclusion, at menstruation, i. 76-77, 148, 200, 272; at child-birth, 148; to deceive evil spirits, 272-273; at puberty, 330, ii. 6, 22; at marriage, 41-44
Secret societies, ii. 54-55, 325
Seduction, punished with death, i. 267, 268
Seemann, B., on the alleged sexual secrecy of the Fijians, i. 216, 216*n.*[7]
Self-preservation, the instinct of, i. 172
Semen, used to transmit strength, i. 142; a remedy for illness, 142, 226; as a love-charm, 142; its properties, 142-143; the seat of strength, 226-228
Seminoles, the, i. 256, 330-331, 336, ii. 229
Semites, the, i. 170, 340, 344
Semo, a man's association, i. 55
Seneca Indians, the, i. 206
Senegal, the natives of, ii. 22
Senegambians, the, i. 51-52, 98, 203
Seoul, Korea, the natives of, i. 49
Separation (avoidance, taboo) between, females related by marriage, ii. 167
— a first-born child and its family, i. 209
— a first-born son and his sister, i. 263
— inferiors and superiors, i. 191-195, 203, 210
— males, i. 262
— males and females, i. 2, 25-27, 44 *et seq.*, 148, 200-214, 242, 253, 256, 260-270, ii. 4-6, 163-168
— males and females related by marriage, i. 2, 44 *et seq.*, 125-126, 199-214, 242, 252-254, 260, 263, ii. 143 *et seq.*, 164-166, 168
— males related by marriage, ii. 155, 166
— a man and his children, i. 204, 205, 208, 210
— a man and his brother, i. 262
— a man and his brother-in-law, ii. 166
— a man and his brother's wife's mother, ii. 166
— a man and his daughter, i. 211, 261, 264, ii. 168
— a man and his eldest sister, i. 263
— a man and his fiancée, i. 2, ii. 25-27
— a man and his granddaughter, ii. 246
— a man and his grandmother, ii. 246
— a man and his niece's son's wife, ii. 165
— a man and his parents, i. 265
— a man and his sister, i. 2, 209, 213, 214, 260-270, 315, ii. 27, 168, 208 *et seq.*
— a man and his sister's daughter, i. 165
— a man and his sisters other than the eldest, i. 264
— a man and his son, i. 262

Separation between a man and his son's wife, ii. 165
— a man and his wife, i. 2, 44 *et seq.*, 125-126, 199-214, 242, 252-254, 260, 263, ii. 143 *et seq.*, 168, 169 *et seq.*
— a man and his wife's brother's wife, ii. 165
— a man and his wife's father, ii. 155, 166
— a man and his wife's grandmother, ii. 165
— a man and his wife's mother, i. 3, ii. ch. xv.
— a man and his wife's mother and other female relations, ii. 165
— a man and his wife's mother's sister, ii. 165
— a man and his wife's mother with all the women in her subclass, ii. 165
— a man and his wife's parents, ii. 167
— a man and his wife's parents' maternal uncles, ii. 166
— a man and his wife's relations, ii. 167
— a man and his wife's sister, ii. 165
— persons of unspecified sex, i. 191-195, 203-210, 264
— persons of unspecified sex related by marriage, ii. 167-168
— sexual, in the house, i. 44 *et seq.*; at religious worship, 55 *et seq.*; in occupation, 61 *et seq.*; at eating and drinking, 100, 198 *et seq.*; during menstruation, 199, 200; at puberty, 200 *et seq.*, 264-265
— a woman and her daughter's husband with all the men in his subclass, ii. 166
— a woman and her husband's male relations, ii. 166
— a woman and her husband's male relations in the ascending line, ii. 166
— a woman and her husband's mother, ii. 167
— a woman and her husband's parents, ii. 167
— a woman and her husband's parents' uncles, ii. 166
— a woman and her husband's relations, ii. 167
— a woman and her sister-in-law, ii. 167
— a woman and her son, i. 205, 209, 210, 242, 261, 262, 263, ii. 168
— young and old, i. 191-192
September, the 10th of, a festival on, i. 366
Septum of the nose, piercing the, i. 169
Sermata Island. *See* Luang-Sermata Islands
Serua Islanders, the, ii. 185
Servian folklore, i. 82, 214, ii. 128
— gipsies, the, i. 282
Sesamum-cake, a, eaten together at marriage, ii. 127
Setsiba garment, the, ii. 104, 188
Sex-totems, or patrons, i. 56, ii. 78-79, 224
Sexual antagonism, i. 52-58, ii. 23
— crises, beliefs and practices at, i. 9, 71 *et seq.*, 239
— desire, heat a concomitant of, i. 236-239, ii. 20
— functions, the, special terms for, i. 82, 217; disgust in connection with, 172
— intercourse, prohibited before hunting and war, i. 65 *et seq.*, 227-228, 254, ii. 149; prayer before, i. 166; contact by means of, ch. viii.; secrecy in, i. 216; thought weakening, 226-228, 246; craving for, caused by eating lizards, 233; forbidden at sexual crises, 239; purification after, 239; depression after, 248; prohibited during initiation, 252-253; prohibited to Japanese princes, 264; initiation to, ii. 19, 21-25; regarded as sinful, 65-66, 66*n.*; eating before, 132
— inversion, ii. 111
— licence, i. 335, ii. 21-25, 67, 209
— life, the, influence of, i. 6
— modesty, i. 173, 217-218, 225
— organs, male, stolen by a witch, i. 9, 235; special terms for, 82, 217; eaten, 139; eating of, forbidden to women, 139; strength attributed to, 139-140; mutilation of the, 168; secrecy with regard to, 219; injured by sorcery, 219-220; male, eaten to promote desire, 223; the seat of the soul, 228; eaten to cure illness, 228; the seat of life, 228-229; menstruation caused by certain dreams connected with the, 231; represented in carvings, 231; the male, associated with serpents, etc., 232-233, ii. 17; injured by evil spirits, i. 234; connected with fire, 238
— relation, marriage as a, i. 2, chs. viii, ix.
— separation in the house, i. 44 *et seq.*; at religious worship, i. 55 *et seq.*; in occupation, i. 61 *et seq.*; when eating, i. 100, 198 *et seq.*; during

menstruation, 199, 200; at puberty, 200 *et seq.*, 264-265
Sexual solidarity, the basis of, i. 52-53, 198, ii. 48-49, 76 *et seq.*, ii. 210
— strength imparted by ancestral spirits, ii. 17
— taboo, i. 14, chs. ii, viii, ix; a basis of, i. 174, 259-260; in eating, 198 *et seq.*
Shadow, transmission of properties by means of the, i. 147-148, 197, 268
Shakespeare, W., quoted, ii. 119
Shaman, the, and disease, i. 119; in women's dress, ii. 108; disciples of, regarded as sons, 229
Shamars, the, i. 299
Shame, and functional phenomena, i. 174
Shastika Indians, the, i. 50
Shaw, G. Bernard, his "Ancients," i. 33
Shawanese, the, ii. 235
Sheep, sacrifice of a, at child-birth, i. 332
Sheitan, i. 30
Shinga, Queen of Congo, i. 243-244, ii. 114
Shiré Highlanders, the, i. 138
Shoa, Abyssinia, the natives of, i. 276, 332, 373
Shooting, to drive away evil spirits, i. 74, 272; as a welcome, 374; at marriage, ii. 36-38, 90
Shortland, E., on the Maoris, i. 373
Shortlands Islanders, the, ii. 164
Shrove Monday, exchange of dress on, i. 321
— Sunday celebrations, i. 321
— Tuesday, exchange of dress on, i. 334
Shushwap, the, i. 68
Sia, the, i. 69
Siamese, the, i. 11, 16, 48, 75, 101, 137, 183, 204, 233, 237
Siberia, the Turkish stocks in, i. 82
— the Yakut of, i. 339, ii. 167
Sickness, believed to be unnatural, i. 32 *et seq.*, 90 *et seq.*; the contagious nature of, 127-129; due to eating forbidden foods, 187; cured by exchange of wives, 336; confession at, ii. 146
Siena, the, i. 329
Sierra Leone, beliefs and practices in, i. 25, 35, 55
Sight, transmission of properties by means of, i. 148-149, 282, ii. 44
Sigurd and Brynhild, ii. 64
Sikhs, the, i. 323
Silence, eating in, i. 183; removal of the ban of, 279; at marriage, ii. 58
Silesian folklore, ii. 104
Sin, sickness and the like due to, i. 100, 179; the contagious nature of, 126-127; sexual intercourse a, 259; stain of, removed with water, 277; the transition from harmfulness to, ii. 32, 65
Sinai, the Arabs of, i. 299, ii. 85, 235
— Mezeyne, the, of, ii. 86
Sindur, the use of, at marriage, ii. 56, 101
— *dan*, the, ii. 129
Sin-eating, i. 127
Sins, confession of, i. 202, 301, ii. 121, 144, 146
Sioux, the, ii. 12, 109, 158, 184, 197
Sirih, i. 162, 164
Sisi, evil spirits, i. 234
Sisith, kissing the, i. 355
Sister, separation of, and brother, i. 2, 209, 213, 214, 260-270, 315, ii. 27, 168, 208 *et seq.*
— and first-born brother, i. 263
—, eldest, and brother, i. 263
—, other than eldest, and brother, i. 264
Skeat, W. W., on the *badi* of the Malays, i. 116-117; on teeth-filing, 169
Skin, used to transmit strength, i. 142, 145; eruptions caused by departure from custom, 179
Skyros, Achilles at, i. 318*n.*[3], 319-320
Slavs, South, the, i. 82, ii. 62, 128
Sleep, refusal to waken from, i. 181; witchcraft during, 195; forbidden at marriage, ii. 60
Sleeping Beauty awakened by a kiss, the motif of the, i. 359
Smallpox, means of defence against, i. 88, 322; the savage's use of inoculation against, 280
Smell, the contagious nature of, i. 131, 143
"Smelling out," the, of persons causing death, i. 103-104
Smith, W. R., on the taboo against husband and wife eating together, i. 214, ii. 122; on the origin of bars to marriage, 205
Smoking, transmission of properties by means of, i. 196; together, union by means of, 286, 289
Snakes, contributed to the fear of the ground, i. 132; the prohibition against eating, 140, ii. 12; eaten to acquire strength, i. 151; may not eat the remains of a meal, 161; intended to represent the penis, 231, ii. 17, 133; in connection with menstruation, i. 231; connected with sexual matters, 232-233
Soa, ii. 191

Social institutions, the study of, i. 1
— taboo, i. 13; the meeting of human and spiritual agencies in, 104; a basis of, 174
Socialism, not found in early society, i. 181; the tendency from individualism to, ii. 32
Society Islanders, the, i. 45, 211-213, 262, 289, 339
Soembanese, the, ii. 90
Soendanese, the, ii. 63
Solidarity of sex, the, i. 52-53
Solomon Islanders, the, i. 48, 80, 116, 160, 208, 252
Somerville, Lieut. (now Admiral) B. T., on the New Hebrideans, i. 209, 243
Son and mother, separation of, i. 205, 209, 210, 242, 261, 262, 263, ii. 168
Son and father, separation of, i. 262
Song of Songs, The, kissing in, i. 346, 346*n.*[7]; conjectured to be a collection of bridal songs, ii. 50; on the failure to distinguish between wife and sister, 170
Sons, in the care of the father, i. 261
Sonthals, i. 16, ii. 129
Soomoo, the, ii. 237
Sorcerers, the psychology of, i. 39, 180; tabooed, 197; dressed as women, 250
Sorcery, the cause of death and disease, i. 37 *et seq.*, 163, 179, 187; the power of the belief in, 176; counteracted, 178; sexual, of women, 219-220
Soul, savage views of the, i. 112; fear of the, 129; resides in the tongue, heart, and liver, 138; the external, 151, 187, 228, 276, ii. 13 *et seq.*; resides in the sexual organs, i. 228
South Sea Islanders, the, i. 339
Sow, death from eating, i. 209
Spaniards, the, believed to bring death, i. 37
Spanish folklore, i. 370, ii. 50
— phrase for the kiss, i. 346
Spartans, the, i. 367, ii. 41, 82, 116
Spencer, *Sir* W. B., *and* F. J. Gillen, on marriage among the Arunta, i. 6; on the Australian sorcerers, 39; on the Central Australian's dread of being killed by magic, 102-103; on *Arungquiltha*, 113-114; on the power of the old men, 180; on the sexual sorcery of the Arunta women, 219-220; on the *churinga*, ii. 16; on initiation at puberty, 25; on marriage by capture in Australia, 86, 96; on Australian relationship, 204; on residence with the wife's people in Australia, 233; on the classification system, 240; on this system in the N. Arunta, 247; on group-marriage, 250 *et seq.*
Spinna or *hinna*, adult, ii. 190
Spirits, evil, the fear of, i. 7-8, 15 *et seq.*; the term misused, 19; residing in the ground, 132
"Spiritual" danger, i. 11-12, 20
Spiritualism, in Guiana, i. 132
Spitting, transmission of properties by, i. 146, 154, 288; an insult, 146, 147; forbidden while some one is eating, 185; to avoid sickness, 274; the various uses of, 293
Spix, J. B. von, *and* C. F. P. von Martius, on a Brazilian custom at dances, ii. 106
"Sponsorship," a bar to marriage, i. 314
Sprains, cure for, i. 144
Stag, the courtship of the, i. 218
Statistical investigation of inbreeding, the, ii. 206
Status, the alleged transition from, to contract, i. 306, 306*n.*
Stepping over, beliefs connected with, i. 46, 48, 51, 63, 65, 147, 252, 254, 268
Sterility, the cause of, i. 242
Strangers feared, i. 26, 131, 189, 282, 289
Straw burned to avert cholera, i. 274
Strength, the transmissible nature of, i. 134-137, 188, ii. 10-11; resident in the testicles, i. 226; resident in the semen, 226-228; resident in the blood, 258; continence to retain, 276; renewal of, ii. 9-10
Strutt, Joseph, on drinking together as a promise of marriage, ii. 126
Stupidity, the contagious nature of, i. 125
Suan, the natives of, ii. 178
Suavium or *savium*, the kiss of lovers, i. 343
Sub-incision, the practice of, i. 170
Subjective and objective reality, i. 4
Substance and accidents, the idea of, familiar to savages, i. 111
Substitutes, used to divert evil, i. 274
Succubi, the belief in, i. 233, ii. 176
Sucking-cure, the, i. 118, 119
Suckling, belief connected with, i. 321
Sudan, French, the natives of, ii. 112
Sudras, Malayalam, the, i. 183
Sumatra, the natives of, i. 156, 201, ii. 27, 60, 81, 120, 131, 164, 165, 189
Sun, the, a female spirit, i. 56; seclusion from, at puberty, 236, ii. 20, 40;

impregnates women, i. 236; seclusion from, during mourning, 319; helping the progress of the, 369; exposure to, ii. 40-41
Sunday, Easter, kissing on, i. 352
—, Shrove, celebrations, on, i. 321
Superb-warbler, a female sex-totem, i. 57, ii. 225
Superiors and inferiors, separation of, i. 191-195, 203, 210
Supernatural, the, and the natural, i. 4, 19
— animals the causes of menstruation, i. 231
Suqe, the men's club, i. 208
Surinam, the natives of, i. 150-151, ii. 179
"Survivals," i. 4, ii. 254
Susa, the king of, not allowed to be seen eating, i. 194, 273
Σύμβολον, the, i. 286, 307
Suwanggi, sorcerers regarded as evil spirits, evil persons, i. 100, 187, 234
Sweat, transmission of properties by means of, i. 144; -bath, 330
Sweetmeats thrown over the bridegroom, ii. 38
Swiss folklore, i. 321, ii. 124
Sword, a man's, as his representative, ii. 55, 56, 58
Syphilis attributed to sorcery, i. 220
Syrians, the ancient, i. 319
—, the modern, ii. 50

Taboo, i. ch. ii.; imposed, i. 7, 13 *et seq.*; sexual, i. 14, chs. iii, viii, ix; at sexual crises, i. 9; the varieties of, 11; the basis of social institutions, 13; of the unknown or abnormal, 22 *et seq.*; women isolated by, 44 *et seq.*; a suggested biological explanation, 61; in the occupations of the sexes, 62-65; in connection with hunting and war, 65-71; during pregnancy, 71-72; at childbirth, 72-75; at puberty, 75; at menstruation, 76-77; at marriage, 77, *passim*; its effect on language, 77-83; a preliminary analysis of sexual, 84-87; the meeting of human and spiritual agencies in social, 104; Dr Freud's theories of, 109; avoidance of contact in, 111, 123 *et seq.*; of personal isolation, 175, 300, 305; the observance of, 176 *et seq.*; upon food, 176, 179, 186-187; at puberty, 236-237; removed, 271 *et seq.*; breaking of, ch. x; transferred, 278-279; marriage ceremony as a breaking of, ii. 34; of virginity, the, 71 *et seq.*; the mother-in-law, ch. xv.
Taboo-marks on property, i. 15, 157, 178
Tabu. *See* Taboo
— *siga*, "kept from the sun," ii. 40
Tahiti Islanders, the, i. 45, 63, 183, 212-213, 292, ii. 110, 112, 120
Tails, legend to explain the disappearance of, in man, i. 93
Taio, a system of artificial brotherhood, i. 292
Taleamie, ii. 194
Tali, ii. 193
Tallĭth, kissing the, i. 355
Tambu. *See* Taboo
Tanagra, the temple of Εὔνοστος at, i. 59
Tane, the institutes of Oro and, i. 211
Tanganyika Plateau, the natives of the, ii. 164, 165
Tangier, the natives of, ii. 47
Tanna Islanders, the, i. 159-160, 188-189, 208, 219
Tapa-making a female monopoly, i. 7, 63
Tapu. *See* Taboo
Tarahumares, the, i. 371
Tasmanians, the, i. 18, 52, 136, 141, 268, 331, 375, ii. 239
Taste, the instinct to preserve the sense of, i. 168; in the kiss, 340
Ta-tathi, the, i. 57, ii. 224
Tattooing, the meaning of, i. 168; at puberty, ii. 40; of a homicide, 107; men as women, 112, 176
Tatu Indians, the, i. 54, 98
Taurobolium, the, i. 331
Tchaka, his imposition of celibacy, i. 70
Tchintu, the sun, i. 238
Teadhlocht, family, ii. 227
Tebing-Tinggi, the, ii. 131
Teeth, mutilation of the, i. 168, 253, ii. 9. *See also* Tooth
Teknonymy, ii. 188 *et seq.*
Ten'a, the, i. 17
Tenimber or Timorlaut Islanders, the, i. 104, 131, 135, 142, 147, 151, 154, 156, 166, 222, 265, 267, 273, 288, 292, 295, 364, 365, ii. 105, 130, 147, 149, 238
Tertullian on pagan views of the Christian kiss, i. 344
Testicles, eaten to acquire strength, i. 140; their resemblance to beans, 140; the seat of strength, 226
Tetom, the, ii. 164, 165
Teutons, the, i. 340
Teve, a newly circumcised boy, i. 79
Theban comradeship-in-arms, the, i. 66

θήλεια νοῦσις, ii. 113
Theseus dances the crane-dance, i. 369
Thetis and Peleus seclude Achilles, i. 319-320
Thlinkeet or Tlingit, the, ii. 43-44. 61, 64, 164, 184
Thomas of Canterbury, St, i. 350
Thomas, W. I., on the magical basis of marriage ceremonies, i. 87*n.*
Thompson Indians, the, i. 330
Thomson, *Sir* Basil, on the alleged sexual secrecy of the Fijians, i. 26*n.*[7]; on the physique of the Fijians, ii. 206
Thomson, Joseph, on the beliefs of the Masai, i. 23, 146; on a Masai wedding, ii. 115-116
Thomson Indians, the, i. 50
Thuringian folklore, ii. 104, 201
θυρφρός, the, ii. 54
Tibarenoi, couvade among the, i. 3
Tibet, the oath in, i. 355
Tierra del Fuego, i. 52
Tiger's flesh, women not allowed to eat, i. 54, 242
Timidity, the contagious nature of, i. 125; of women, 246-248, ii. 41
Timor Islanders, the, i. 178, 297, ii. 130
Timorlaut or Tenimber Islanders, the, i. 104, 131, 135, 142, 147, 151, 154, 156, 166, 222, 265, 267, 273, 288, 292, 295, 364, 365, ii. 105, 130, 147, 149, 238
Tindalo, a spirit, i. 161
Tindeko, blood brotherhood, i. 290
Tinneh, the, i. 68, ii. 6
—, Northern, the, i. 297
—, Western, the, i. 69
Tipperah, the, ii. 46, 133
Tiriêri, the, ii. 60
Tlingit or Thlinkeet, the, ii. 43-44, 61, 64, 164, 184
Tobelorese, the, i. 111, 252, ii. 19
Todas, the, i. 60, 72, 74, 80, 204, 264, 362, ii. 69, 69*n.*[4], 140, 193, 197
Todd, A. J., on contact pleasure, i. 110*n.*
Tohunga, the, i. 30
To Kabinana, the power of good, ii. 213*n.*
To Kovuvuru, the power of evil, ii. 213*n.*
Toldo, a Patagonian tent, i. 294
Tonga Islanders, the, i. 14, 59, 145, 191-192, 263, 274, 278, 317, 332, 339, 374
Tongareva Islanders, the, i. 101
Tongue, the, the seat of the soul, i. 138; the tip of, the seat of curses, 144-145; in kissing, 340
Tonquinese, the, ii. 196
Tooth, the use of the first, shed by a child, i. 142. *See also* Teeth
Toothache, cures for, i. 126, 142
Topantunuasu, the, ii. 130
Torelore, King of, i. 3
Torka, taboo, ii. 26
Torres Straits, the natives of the, i. 47, ii. 106, 157, 228
—, West, the natives of, ii. 164, 165, 166, 167
Totem-clan, the result of marriage within the, i. 177-178; sexual food taboos within the, 214
— names, ii. 8
Totem, personal, i. 57; sex-, 56-57; eating the, 328-329, ii. 151; rebirth into the, i. 329
Totemic system, the, ii. 213 *et seq.*
Touch, the instinct to preserve the sense of, i. 168; the basis of the kiss, 338
Transmission of properties, the, i. 112 *et seq.*; of degradation, 124-125; dulness, 125; timidity, 125, 136; stupidity, 125, 136; weakness, 125; effeminacy, 126; pain, 126; sin and crime, 126-127; sickness and disease, 127-129, 219-221; death, 129-132; smell, 131; beneficence, 133; love, 133; friendship, 133-134; strength and courage, 134-137 188; guilt, 196; feminine properties, 224 *et seq.*; pre-natal impressions, ii. 177
Transmission of properties by means of, contact, chaps. v, viii, ix; the breath, i. 124, 125, 144, 254; eating and drinking, 124 *et seq.*, 145, 182 *et seq.*; smell, 131, 143; blood, 134 *et seq.*, 239, 253 *et seq.*, 282; anointing, 138-139; hair, 140-141, 222-223; bones, 141-142; nail clippings, etc., 142; semen, 142-143; crime, 143; sweat, 144; clothes, 145; saliva, 146, 154, 282; woman's milk, 146; stepping over, etc., 147-148; sight, 148-149; heard and written words, 149-150; smoking, 196; a corpse, 196; sexual intercourse, chaps. viii, ix; intention, i. 221-223; exchange, chap. xi.
Transylvania, folklore of, ii. 51, 92, 94, 177
Travancore, the natives of, i. 76, 124, 127, 130, 183, 200, 204, 264, ii. 58
— the Rajah of, kissed by a Brahmin, i. 127
Treachery prevented by eating and drinking together, i. 301, 313
Tree, planting a, on the birth of a child, i. 152
— marriage, i. 3, ii. 55-58

Tribe, marriage within the, ii. 33
Trobrianders, the, i. 66
" Troy, The Game of, " i. 369
Tsecats, the, i. 252, ii. 112
Tsetsaut, the, ii. 164
Tshi, the, ii. 148, 187
Tubuaior Austral Islanders, the, i. 45, 210
Tuesday, Shrove, exchange of dress on, i. 334
Tuitonga, the, i. 191
Tully, the, ii. 164
Tungu, the, i. 156, ii. 82
Turkish stocks in Siberia, the, i. 82
Turkoman, the, ii. 236
Turko-Persian frontier, the Armenians of the, i. 74
Turks, the, i. 349, ii. 145
Turndun, a kurnai ancestor, ii. 16
" Turn Tongue," the, i. 78, ii. 153
Turowine, a subclass, ii. 244, 245
Turtles, women forbidden to eat, i. 209, 210, 211; children forbidden to eat, ii. 11
Tuyangs, the, ii. 195
Twala, the carrying-off of the bride, ii. 85
Twana, the, i. 128
Twins, beliefs connected with, i. 128
Tylor, *Sir* E. B., on the kiss, i. 340; on marriage by capture, ii. 97-98; on the mother-in-law taboo, 161-162, 171; on the couvade, 177, 180-182; on teknonymy, 190-191; on cross-cousin-marriage, 216, 242; on residence with the wife's people, 232, 236; on exogamy, 242; his *Primitive Culture*, 254

Υβριστικά, the, i. 334
Uchuilima, lithe and active, i. 135-136
Uganda, the king of, i. 361
—, the natives of, i. 138, ii. 109
Uknaria, a division of a subclass, ii. 247
Uku-blonipa, the system of, ii. 153
Ukuteta kwabapxi, women's language, i. 82
Ukutu, the cow given to the bride's mother amongst the Kaffirs, ii. 140
Uliasser Islanders, the, i. 74, 234
Umbilical cord, beliefs connected with the, i. 151-152; called the brother of the child, 152; *ngia ngiampe* by means of the, 287
Umbirua, the relation of, ii. 25
Umbitchana, a division of a subclass, ii. 247
Umbrellas, sacred, to divert evil, i. 273; at marriage, ii. 45
Um-goliswa, ii. 141
Umiak, a large boat, i. 63
Umkuba, the custom of girls herding cattle for a day, i. 320, ii. 102
Umkweniana, a term of address, ii. 195
Umtakati, witch, etc., i. 178
Unawa, i. 220
Unchastity, the effect of, i. 127, 202; punishment for, 267-268; and incest, 270
Unesisila, " you have dirt," i. 121, 305
Ungalla, a division of a subclass, ii. 247
Ungunja, men's camp, i. 269
Union, theory of, chap. xi.
Unscientific, the, and the religious, i. 3
" Untouchables," the lowest caste in India, i. 111, 124
Unusual, fear of the, i. 22
Upoto, the, ii. 164
Urabunna, the, ii. 159, 240, 249 *et seq.*
Uraons, the, i. 265
Urethra, bewitching of the, i. 220
Urine, clothing polluted by the, of a child now dead, i. 130; used in folk-medicine, 143, 241
Uripiv Islanders, the, i. 46, 192, 208, 243, 262, ii. 115
Uruguay, the Indians of, i. 52
Usawi, a kind of witchcraft, i. 146
Uterine troubles, cure for, i. 144
Uterus, the growth of stones in the, caused by evil spirits, i. 234

Vāghers, the, ii. 139
Vagina, wounds in the, caused by evil spirits, i. 234
Vallabha sect, the, i. 250, ii. 110
Varagut, the custom of, i. 372
Vasanti, the goddess, i. 363
Veddas, the, i. 76, 200
Veils, to divert evil, i. 273; at marriage, ii. 42 *et seq.*
Venereal disease, mutilation in cases of, i. 169; not prevented by circumcision, 170
Venison, young men forbidden to eat, i. 125, 207, 252, ii. 12
Venus, the Bearded, of Cyprus, ii. 107
Vertebrae of a foe as charms, i. 151
Veve, division, ii. 213
Victoria, the natives of, i. 78, 187, 189, 206, 207, 268, 301, ii. 153, 224, 225, 226
—, North-West, the natives of, ii. 225
—, South-East, the natives of, i. 47
—, South-West, the natives of, i. 57, ii. 164, 165
—, West, the natives of, i. 157-158, 200, 207, 253, ii. 225
Victoria Nyanza, i. 35

Vintana, fate, ii. 145
Viriplaca, the goddess, i. 55
Visions, induced before any enterprise, i. 69
Voigtland, folklore in, ii. 201
Vosges, Haut-, folklore of the, ii. 127
Vulva, injuring a man by bewitching a, i. 220; represented in earrings, 231

Wa, Mount, ii. 91
Wachago, the, i. 258
Wagande, the, i. 375
Wagiriami, the, i. 71
Wagogo, the, i. 71, ii. 9, 164, 165
Wahi Ktapu, a sacred place, i. 120
Wahua, the, ii. 148
Waka, the female lizard, i. 56, ii. 224
Wakamba, the, i. 296, ii. 80
Wakan, i. 22
Wa-kwafi, the, i. 331
Wallace, A. R., on the Malay's observance of etiquette, i. 181
Wanga, the, ii. 179
Wanika, the, ii. 8
War, sexual taboo in connection with, i. 65 *et seq.*, 227, 254 *et seq.*; disguise in, 317; dance, 366-367, 374
Warbler, superb, the, a sex-totem, i. 57, ii. 225
Warramunga, the, i. 81, ii. 63
Warriarto, ii. 190
Warritya, ii. 190
Warua, the, i. 190, 202
Wasania, the, i. 71
Wasy, guardian, i. 299-300
Wataveta, the, i. 55, 273, ii. 27, 47-48, 68
Watchandies, the, ii. 164
Wa-teita, the, ii. 60, 65, 93, 236
Water, to divert evil, i. 273, ii. 84; to remove taboo, 276-278
Watubella Islanders, the, i. 152, 238, 272, 295, ii. 26, 49, 103, 187, 202, 238, 239
Wayisa, the, i. 36
Weakness, the contagious nature of, i. 125-126; produced by sexual intercourse, 226-228; the fear of, the basis of sexual taboo, *passim*
Weapons, exchanged to form friendship, i. 293
Webster, Hutton, the theories of, compared with the author's, i. 259*n.*[1]
Weinhold, K., on the bride wearing male dress, ii. 117
Wekeel, the bride's deputy, ii. 54
Welsh folklore, i. 350, ii. 82, 116
Werft, the, ii. 49
Westermarck, Edward, his *History of Human Marriage*, i. 1; his use of biology, 2; on the dread of unusual objects, 26; on the treatment of strangers, 26*n.*[3]; on the natives of Morocco, 64, 83, ii. 95, 99-100; on the women's language, i. 83; on the author's theory of the part played by blood in savage thought, 257*n.*; on pre-nuptial unchastity, 268, 269*n.*[5]; on the author's theory of hospitality, 290*n.*[1]; on the oath, 355; on marriage ceremonies, ii. 29*n.*[1]; on protection against dangers from above, ii. 45; on the deferment of consummation, 61-62; on the expulsion of evil at marriage, 94-95; on the arguments against marriage by capture, 95*n.*[2]; on M. van Gennep's criticism of the author's theory of marriage by capture, 99-100; on bridal gifts, 137; on the purchase of the husband, 139; on the author's theory of the mother-in-law taboo, 162-163, 168; on the author's views, 188*n.*[4]; on the prohibition of the marriage of near kin, 205-207; on kinship by name, 230; on descent through the mother, 231; on primitive promiscuity, 231, 250-258; on the *jus primae noctis*, 251, 255
West Indies, the natives of the, i. 91, ii 167
Wetar Islanders, i. 31, 100, 112, 137, 138, 187, 192, 208, 216, 234, 265, 288, 295, 314, 315, ii. 123, 158, 175, 189, 211, 237
Whale-hunting, beliefs connected with, i. 130, 197
Whangaihan, methods of lifting taboo, i. 278
Whisky spoilt by death, i. 129
White Russians, folklore of the, ii. 54
Whooping-cough, cures for, i. 140-141
Widow, special rules for the marriage of a, ii. 35, 65
Wife and husband, separation of, i. 2, 44 *et seq.*, 125-126, 199-214, 242, 252-254, 260, 263, ii. 143 *et seq.*, 168 *et seq.*; accused of each other's deaths, ii. 98, 145; the relation of, chap. xv.
Will, the transmission of intention by the, i. 153, 154; immaturity of the, a savage characteristic, 176
Wilyaru, a Dieri ceremony, i. 258
Wine not a substitute for blood, ii. 133
Winnebagoes, the, i. 69
Wiraijuri tribe, the, i. 126, 253
Wirlie, ii. 239

Witchcraft at marriage, i. 8; at childbirth, 31; the cause of death, 34, 35, 36, 37, 98 *et seq.*, 128; during pregnancy, 72; in the use of language, 82; by means of milk, 146; the power of the belief in, 176; precautions against, 185; liability to, when eating, drinking, or sleeping, 195; the cause of conjugal impotence, 218
Witchetty-grub, in love-charms, i. 223
Wives, must keep away from husbands' sphere, i. 7; lending and exchanging, 254-255, 296-297, 302, 335, 337, 362-363
Woda-tree, the sacred, i. 61
Woloffs, the, i. 140
Woman, forbidden to use canoes, i. 7; to touch cattle, 7, 64; not understood by man, 43; excluded from religious worship, 58; from male occupations, 61 *et seq.*; avoided before hunting and war, 65 *et seq.*; at sexual crises, 71-77; use a special language, 77-83; the secrecy of, 173; the modesty of, 173; transmission of the properties of, chaps. viii, ix; power of sorcery with regard to sexual organs, 219-220; at puberty commune with gods, 235; in men's dress, 243-244, 250, 320; considered weak, 244 *et seq.*; as priestesses, 249-250; as hunters and warriors, ii. 114
Woman, separation (avoidance, taboo) between a, and her, daughter's husband with all the men in his subclass, ii. 166
— husband's male relations, ii. 166
— husband's male relations in the ascending line, ii. 166
— husband's mother, ii. 167
— husband's parents, ii. 167
— husband's parents' uncles, ii. 166
— husband's relations, ii. 167
— sister-in-law, ii. 167
— son, i. 205, 209, 210, 242, 261, 262, 263, ii. 168
Woman's milk used to transmit properties, i. 146
Wommera, i. 262
Wonghiban, the, ii. 164
Words, transmission by means of, i. 149-150
Worship, the kiss in, i. 344 *et seq.*; dancing in, 371
Wotjobaluk, the, i. 56, ii. 224
Wuulon, the refuse left behind by a tribe, i. 158
Wyingurri, the, i. 238

Yakut, the, i. 339, ii. 167
Yao, the, i. 36, ii. 28, 164, 165, 166, 167
Yaroinga, the, ii. 16, 30
Yartatgurk, the night jar, i. 56, ii. 224
Yate, W., on Maori views of payment for medical services, i. 305; on the mother as her daughter's protector, ii. 172-173
Yeerung, the sex-totem of the male kurnai, ii. 78, 225
Yorubas, the, i. 31, 55, 96, 103, 111, 128, 134, 139, 170, 171, 323, 361, ii. 176, 260
Young and old, separation of, i. 191-192
Yucatan, "Captain," not allowed to come into contact with women, i. 201
—, the natives of, i. 205, ii. 167
Yuin, the, i. 58, ii. 164
Yukis, the, i. 255, 370
Yukon, the Indians of the, i. 17, 374
Yule Islanders, the, i. 47, 189

Zafimanelos, the, i. 190
Zaid-al-Khail, i. 298
Zanzibar, the natives of, ii. 114
Zardandan, the natives of, ii. 179
Zera, holy, i. 73
Zeus, creates man, i. 310; hides Dionysus, 320
Zimbabwe, the phallic towers of, i. 232
Zoomorphism, i. 104
Zulus, the, i. 28, 35, 51, 70, 121, 129, 130, 134, 145, 146, 154, 163, 164, 178, 185, 197, 221, 227, 254, 274, 279-281, 305, 320, 328, 331, 333, 335, ii. 22, 41, 43, 46, 53, 102, 115, 144, 146, 152, 153, 169, 175, 193, 195-196, 232
Zuñi, the, ii. 7

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